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## Dr. Joseph Tiso in the Light of Nazi Documents

By Dr. Arvéd Grébert Geneva, Switzerland

L'Osservatore Romano, the Vatican daily, published (April 27, 1974) an article by Robert A. Graham, S. J., an American Jesuit, on the policy of the Holy See in regard to anti-Jewish legislation during the second World War in Hitler-dominated Europe. (La Santa Sede e le vittime della guerra.)

The author based his conclusions exclusively on material in a volume of diplomatic documents published by the Vatican: Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale. The aforementioned article touches upon the stand taken by the Slovak government in regulations concerning the Jews which were implemented without exception in all the states that were in the German-Italian orbit. As a matter of record, neither in Italy, the centuries-old bastion of Catholicism, nor in France, which was headed by Marshal Philippe Petain, a practical Catholic, was the Holy See able to halt discrimination that was officially prescribed by law.

The author of the review merely noted the facts relating to the so-called solution of the Jewish problem in Slovakia without taking into account existing circumstances, very often completely unknown to foreign readers. These were influenced by the geopolitical situation of Slovakia caught in the German-Magyar vise or web. Moreover, Hungary enjoyed a privileged position. At this period of history its policy-makers knew how to take advantage of its political anti-semitic regulations under the domination of the Third Reich. One must take into consideration, too, the overwhelming power pressure imposed upon Slovakia by Germany. No less important in this delicate situation was the fact that Bratislava, the Slovak capital and seat of the government, was located on the very borders of Germany. This was

a precarious position that could have toppled the Slovak government from power at any moment by a military invasion. Without weighing all these basic realities one cannot begin to understand the policy of President Tiso and the Slovak government in this problem of seeking a solution for the Jewish question during the second World War in Slovakia.

It is not our intention on this occasion to discuss the circumstances that brought on anti-Jewish regulations by the government in Slovakia at this particular time. An analysis of this phase of the Slovak past will be the role of a free Slovak historical study which will have free access to and complete use of all existing documents on the basis of a comparative study of all the contemporary events in Europe and local circumstances. Things looked entirely different in Bratislava and at the Vatican, for example. And, likewise, the problems of President Tiso were judged quite differently at the Vatican and German headquarters (and by Nazi reporters) in Berlin or Bratislava.

It will not be out of place, therefore, to illustrate our point of view on this historical problem by citing official statements of a Nazi report of February, 1943, in Bratislava itself. This report on the situation in Slovakia together with a proposal for the future destiny of the Slovak nation in the sphere of Nazi Germany after the expected victorious end of the war was presented to the chief of the SS. bureau. It was top secret, dated February 16, 1943, and sent to the SS. Hauptamt headquarters, whose chief was G. Berger. The latter, in a letter to Heinrich Himler (February 19, 1943), the chief of SS. and the police in the Third Reich, informed him of the situation in Slovakia with a supplementary note that a detailed report was being sent to the third department of the main office of national security.

The text of this communique appeared in a Slovak translation of the documents which Vilém Prečan edited in Bratislava in 1965. (Slovenské národné povstanie. Dokumenty. Vydavateľ stvo politickej literatúry, pp. 45-54). We will quote only those paragraphs that refer to Dr. Jozef Tiso and his closest political associates. They quite clearly reflect the attitude of the German Nazis toward the Slovak Republic. In the introduction we read:

President Dr. Tiso has ranged widely in his politics. According to

law he is the leader of the nation and the party, and is the top man in the state. This powerful position was secured with the cooperation of old associates, the strong support of the clergy and leaders of Catholic Action, and also with the aid of Sidor's followers, and apparently, too, by the backing of recruits from neutral or indifferent sources, such as those of Dr. Karvaš.

Tiso, a realist, declared himself in favor of the Reich. But internally he leans on elements that are fundamentally hostile to Germany and opposed to the ideas of the Third Reich. He is endeavoring to build up Slovakia on the principles of the Catholic Action group, and hence his ultimate objective is a Catholic state. In the beginning his intentions were hidden by a mask. Opportunistic references to national socialism seemed that he was favorably disposed to it, but lately he has thrown off the mask and a frontal attack on national socialism is underway.

#### And a Nazi informer writes further:

After Sidor's resignation Tiso and his associates have a free hand. Catholic Action and the clergy are in confrontation with the national guard (Hlinka Guards). Their allies are those who felt they had suffered losses as the result of the establishment of the Slovak state those who had lost rights or privileges, those who had always cooperated with the Jews and were dependent on them, and finally by all the Jews who remained in the country. The national guard obviously could not offer sufficient resistance to this alignment without outside help. The result was Salzburg, an agreement that Tiso regarded as forced upon him and which he never respected.

Attached to this official report were addenda in the form of written observations about individual aspects of the Slovak problem in 1943. Supplement 6 was labeled: "State President Dr. Jozef Tiso, Bratislava, February 11, 1943." President Tiso's political profile is drawn and the views of his associates recorded. For example, Ravasz and Dr. Polyák ("another cleric-oriented ally of Dr. Tiso, a full fledged minister."). According to Semi-Goth, Polyák was a Jew and a friend of the Jews. Čavojský, Suroviak and Drobný are listed as Tiso's allies. Liberals Stano, Sokol and Sivák are in Tiso's camp as are štefan Danihel and Dr. Turček, industrialists, the report said.

"All these," the report continued, "on the basis of their life style and urban environment are opposed to the Reich. It is apparent that the clergy and all the forces of Catholic Action are behind Tiso. From 1941 Tiso won over the party affiliation of the erstwhile followers of Sidor."

#### The Nazi informer continues:

Three years ago in response to a radio talk by a Catholic priest,

R., who advocated social security, Tiso told him that he was thinking of following the example of Salazar of Portugal in Slovakia. (Salazar was looked upon as a civilian Jesuit who leaned towards the idea of a Catholic state.)

The book of a theologian (Dr. Polakovič), *Tisova náuka*, reflects the views and plans of Tiso in bold outlines. They follow the Catholic idea of a state quite clearly as an objective of Catholic Action. The author upholds the absolute primacy of the Church over the state.

Proof of Tiso's state-political views are clearly evidenced by his philosophy of education, the establishment of organizations in support of Catholic Action, etc. A former Jesuit, Mišík, is his close advisor. Tiso also actively supported the organization of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and the initiator was Dr. Novák, a university professor and well known Pan Slav.

Tiso's reaction to the Salzburg Agreement is manifested in his statement that he accepted it "with clenched teeth" because it was forced upon him. He said to Mach who handed in his resignation in December, 1942: "You know where I stand. They forced you upon me. Therefore, it will be better if you present your resignation where you received your appointment."

This attitude towards the Salzburg Agreement is the inevitable result of Tiso's rejection of national socialism and German influence in general. There are many proofs of this. For example, in the fall of 1942 Tiso told Commander Kubiček of the Hlinka Guard in Zvolen during his visit at the president's residence (palace): "We do not need any form of national socialism. We have our own views." In May, 1942, the president received Dr. Elemér Fink from Zvolen, together with Dr. Kováč, Mayor of Bratislava, at which meeting Dr. E. Fink presented a petition in behalf of his brother, Dr. Zoltán Fink. Tiso promised him a position and economic privileges on condition that the Hlinka Guard in Zvolen ceases to demand the implementation of a program of national socialism. And Tiso stated that neither the Church nor the state would tolerate any form of national socialism, and added emphatically that it was in his power to prevent its establishment.

At a party conference in the Pohronie region in December, 1942, Tiso declared: "We must strive by our work to achieve what we want. Our nation must manifest its maturity in every phase of life in order to prove that it is capable of self-government. In the future we will not need supervision (this he emphasized). We must prove to the whole world we do not need enyone to subsidize us."

Towards national socialism Tiso expressed his views openly at a conference of leaders of the Hlinka Guard in Bojnice (July 1-31, 1942). Despite the fact that he was speaking to a number of avowed Slovak national socialists Tiso did not use the term, "national socialism," at all. As a matter of fact, he declared that the Hlinka Guard must not become involved in an ideological struggle. Reaction to his address in which he stated that the Slovaks were not working in the interests of the Germans or any alien nation but only in the interest of the

Slovak nation was very much in evidence among the assembly of the Hlinka Guard.

For the president, next to his alliance with the clergy, his strength lies in the solid support of the Academic youth (college and university students). On June 2, 1942, Tiso received a tremendous ovation for his speech in the university amphitheatre in Bratislava. The residents of the Lafranconi and Svoradov fraternity houses gave a public demonstration in which they voiced their anti-German but pro Pan Slav and Roman Catholic sympathy during the course of President Tiso's address. This compromised Tiso's policy and was a direct answer to Ambassador Ludin's earlier speech in Kežmarok. In this respect it is necessary to quote from Tiso's speech: "We have our own policies in regard to foreign states, particularly towards the great German Reich with which we are allied by a special agreement. But who could imagine that Germany should wish to direct Slovak politics? We have to direct our own political life under this agreement. No thinking German would expect a Slovak to conduct German politics in Slovakia. Frankly, every reasoning German would resent such an attitude. Let us, therefore, conduct our own politics in Slovakia."

Further proof that Tiso does not absolutely follow the pro-German political line we deduce from the words of one of his loyal followers, namely, Father Izakovič. The latter in his speech in August, 1942, in Trnava to some 300 officers, said that it is imperative to adjust to the circumstances of the times, and that if a certain policy is being followed today is does not necessarily mean that it cannot be changed by new circumstances tomorrow. The speaker insisted he was repeating the views of Tiso with whom he had just had an interview.

This, then, is the political profile of President Tiso as drawn by a German Nazi informer in his February 11, 1943, report from Bratislava.

In reply to Father Graham, the American Jesuit, whose article appeared in the *Osservatore Romano*, it is enlightening to quote again from the official statement (Par. 7) under the title, "Influence of the Clergy, particularly the Jesuits and Catholic Action in Slovakia." It is dated February 11, 1943. We quote:

The privileged position of the clergy in the Slovak nation may be explained on the basis of historical development. While the Slovaks were incorporated in Hungary they did not belong to the upper class. Magyarization was allied with the social oppression of the Slovak nation. Proof of this is in the large number of Magyar clergy and secular leaders of Slovak origin. The lower clergy remained united with the Slovak people. Thus, since the clergy in general was held in high esteem in the kingdom of Hungary and because there was no upper class in Slovakia, the Slovak clergy assumed the role of leadership in their own country rather automatically.

Even the establishment of the Slovak Peoples Party at the beginning

of the 20th century was inspired and greatly influenced by the clergy. Prominent Slovak clergymen like Hlinka became involved with ecclesiastical authorities in a controversy on national issues.

During the existence of the first Czecho-Slovak Republic after World War I the Slovak Peoples Party was in constant conflict with the centralistic regime ruling Slovakia from Prague. For Hlinka and Sidor and their adherents the Slovak nation's interests were dominant factors in their political program, the chief objective of which was the fulfillment of the promise of autonomy or self-government for the Slovaks in their own native land.

One other vital factor in the relations of the Slovak Peoples Party and the central government of Masaryk and Beneš in Prague was the attempt of the politicians in the Czech capital of Prague (most of whom were free-thinkers and opposed to the Church) to separate church and state and secularize all schools in the country. In contrast to the privileged position of the clergy in Hungary and its endangered future this was a threat to their very existence in the new republic of Czecho-Slovakia. This reality was very much in evidence by the fact that the Slovak Peoples Party was predominantly represented by the clergy in Prague. Thus, while Hlinka basically maintained an uncompromising stand towards the Czechs, Tiso and the clerical wing pursued a policy of tactical maneuvering and realistic consideration.

Attempts of the Catholic Church after the first World War to adapt itself to the new revolutionary conditions of the times by a dynamic program of Catholic Action found fertile soil for its ideals among the religious Slovak populace. This enabled both the clergy and the Church in Slovakia to maintain dominant influence.

Sivák, Minister of education in the Slovak Republic, was, and is an outspoken party affiliate of Tiso and strongly pro-clerical. Under him the schools were re-organized on the basis of the Catholic and Lutheran Evangelical faiths. The local committees for national education are chiefly headed by the pastors of the region. In the denominational schools the chairman of the school-board ex officio is the pastor, who is also ex officio a member of the non-denominational school-board in his district.

According to a secret directive the clergy is obligated by all means possible to secure and maintain control over social life, and wield its influence in all business enterprises, organizations, labor and industry.

Even today the largest land-owners in the state are the clergy, and they lead a very feudal life in their episcopal sees and in country parishes. Moreover, many pastors are representatives in parliament and are on various committees.

The influence of the Jesuits is obviously wide. It was apparent during Magyar rule and later when Ledochowski, the Jesuit General, offered aid to Hlinka and his party. As it flows from the very substance of the Jesuit style of work, only seldom is one able to detect any signs of their activity. They exert their influence primarily through the clergy. The Jesuits have the training of clerical candidates in their hands. At

monthly meetings of diocesan priests, the Jesuits conducted the conferences mostly by sermons. They are also in charge of spiritual exercises for the clergy. The restoration of the Jesuit monastery in Ružomberok is a further sign of the intensification of Jesuit activity.

The Jesuits have a direct influence on Slovak politics. For example, in 1941 they had a religious conference for Slovak political leaders in Ružomberok under the supervision of Father Mikuš, the Jesuit provincial. According to reports, some of those present were given quite a going-over, but since these exercises required silence this prevented any open discussions or a request for any questions to be answered publicly. Anyone who had a question or problem could discuss it only privately with a Jesuit priest assigned for individual consultation.

Besides, other means for their influence are readily available. For instance, two sisters of Ledochowski, the Jesuit provincial, live in Bratislava. For a time after the declaration of the independence of the Slovak Republic Tiso resided in a Jesuit monastery where Father Mikuš, former Jesuit provincial, was one of his closest advisers. There are Slovak Jesuits in the Vatican, too. Among them there is Father Javorka, director of the Russicum College, and Dr. Králiček, Hlinka's grand-nephew who is a librarian at the Vatican. Sidor himself revealed in a radio speech on December 16, 1942, that Ledochowski, the Jesuit general, is a frequent guest at the Slovak Embassy at the Vatican.

It is entirely unnecessary to point out that the Jesuit position is absolutely anti-German. As an example, we will cite the case of a pastor who was suspended for his national-socialistic writings. During his talk with Mikuš (the Jesuit provincial, who visited him) he was admonished and asked not to do anything that would sever his relations with his bishop. Mikuš added that the situation would undoubtedly change in a year or two. To the query he intimated that Germany would not win the war Mikuš replied he not only surmised it but he was wholly convinced of it, and even said that there were many others of the same opinion, evidence that he was voicing an opinion held in high places.

Although the youngest group of the Jesuits is not numerically large, there are many among them with a high I.Q.

Catholic Action has as its primary role a lay apostolate designated to support the activity of the clergy. Its influence and importance have grown perceptibly in the past few years. Its branches are found everywhere. Dr. Buzalka, director of the seminary in Bratislava, is also the director of Catholic Action. His anti-German sentiments are public knowledge.

The press of the Catholic Action movement has great opportunities and is definitely anti-German. In addition to its own internal information service, Catholic Action has its own Catholic Press Bureau whose releases are used by the Catholic periodicals and party publications. Svoradov, the Catholic student center at the Slovak University in Bratislava, is a bulwark of Catholic Action, clericalism and a hotbed of anti-German views. Its director is Dr. Filkorn, a good friend of Tiso. Dr. Kirschbaum, a close follower of Sidor, was active for a long time as a Pan Slav and

German foe. He was with Sidor in Rome for a long time but was recently transferred to the Slovak Embassy in Switzerland.

In his report on Sidor, the informant in Bratislava observes that he and his friends in Slovakia resist German influence. "Their attitude is known and manifests itself at every opportunity," he writes. As evidence of this the informer observes:

Thus, for example, čulen fails to say one word about German aid given in the founding of the Slovak state in his introduction to an article in the pictorial book of the Slovak Peoples Party which was published on the second anniversary of Slovak Independence Day (March 14, 1941). Not only does he fail to mention German assistance but he repeatedly claims that the creation of the Slovak state was accomplished by the Slovak nation alone!

Then, too, as another glaring example, Čarnogurský does not refer to German-Slovak cooperation during his lectures to party members, and at the funeral of Ledochowski, the Jesuit general, he openly expressed his pro-Polish sympathies.

Sidor in his post at the Slovak Embassy in the Vatican had every opportunity to renew old acquaintances. Through enemy representatives at the Vatican there were many such occasions. Although he faithfully reported that he received several letters from Beneš, Minister Mach, for one, is firmly convinced that Sidor replied either in writing or through other channels on his own.

When we take into consideration the increasingly strong desire of the Catholic Church to have the Pope play a role as mediator, and possibly, a decisive role in terminating the present world conflict, and since the Slovak Catholic press in Slovakia constantly emphasizes this point of view, then it is perhaps not a mistake to assume that Sidor seeks to direct Slovak internal politics into other channels through Catholic Action. The mission of Kirschbaum, a fanatical follower of Sidor who has been transferred to the Embassy in Switzerland, means the strengthening of Sidor's position in his foreign political policy outside Slovakia.

"The Jews in Slovakia" (under that caption or heading the informer continues):

The Jews, 20,000 of them, still occupy positions in government and in various administrative posts and supervising positions, apparently permanent assignments. Jews, whom the Guard seized when they were trying to escape from the country, and who were put into concentration camps, reappeared in their homes soon after being released. These were given the protection of a presidential immunity card as wards of the state. They are more or less impertinent, depending on fluctuating changes in the war.

To supplement his report, the Nazi informant adds that Čulen, a member of the Slovak parliament and trusted

friend of President Jozef Tiso, has a half-Jewish wife, that Minister Ďurčanský intervened for 200 Jews who were released at his command from transport ready to leave the country, that the Mayor of Nitra was the godfather of many Jewish children, that when Minister Mach wanted to remove the above Mayor from office, President Tiso intervened in his behalf, that Msgr. Filkorn spoke openly in parliament in protest against the unchristian methods of disposing of Jewish properties, and finally, that Minister Polyák was a half-Jew.

Such was the context of the information supplied his government in Berlin by a Nazi agent living in Bratislava, the Slovak capital. It is, therefore, quite clear that the Nazis did not think that the communists or the "Czechoslovaks" in Slovakia were their dangerous foes, but, strangely enough, the people who were loyal to President Tiso, followers of Sidor, the Catholic clergy, the Jesuits and the majority of the Slovak Peoples Party were feared. From the German viewpoint only Premier Dr. Tuka, Minister Alexander Mach and the Hlinka Guards were their only trusted allies in the Slovak Republic.

To comprehend fully and judge conditions in Slovakia during war time it is necessary to study these official German documents. That is what Robert A. Graham, S. J. should have done but failed to do.

Many German documents are now available as official records of what transpired from the German point of view. Their policy, their views, reactions and their analysis of President Tiso are all there for anyone who wants to know the truth. Unquestionably, they confirm the negative stand of President Tiso to German national socialism and an appraisal of his realistic approach to the Third Reich in the interest of his own Slovak nation.

In conclusion we will cite a part of the official report of SS. Haupsturmführer Dr. H. Borsch, chief of the department of III B of the central division security in Vienna. His report of October, 1943, almost a year before the so-called 'Slovak Revolt' was sent to Dr. E. Kaltenbrunner, Nazi chief of security police and safety. (This report appeared in the publication Slovenské národné povstanie, Nemci a Slovensko, 1944, Dokumenty, Nakladatel'stvo Epocha, Bra-

tislava, 1970. Zostavil Vilém Prečan, pp. 40-43.) Aside from other comments this is what the report has to say about Dr. Jozef Tiso's stand towards the Third Reich:

Although there do not as yet exist any direct proofs of Tiso's duplicity in his suspected role of double-dealing, nevertheless, his personal politics in recent years have resulted in strengthening forces that are least sympathetic to the Reich.

Since he was aware of the political past of these elements, and hence could have easily foreseen their future activity and behaviour towards the Reich, it seems that already then he was thinking of an orientation away from the pro-German position.

Besides this, as it happened frequently, whenever German requests were not fulfilled and when there were other deviations from the German line, he could always defend himself by claiming these groups were to blame and thus was able to allay suspicions of personal disloyalty to the German Reich.

A further argument in a careful evaluation of Tiso's stand is his position as a priest. In spite of many instances of self-will, Tiso maintains close contacts with higher authorities in the Church. Moreover, his most intimate co-workers are clerics: Msgr. Filkorn, Pastor Izakovič and Mikuš, the Jesuit provincial.

From this friendship one can conclude more than an indecisive stand on the Jewish question. From the German standpoint this may well be the decisive point that can prove the President's loyalty or disloyalty, the touchstone of his fidelity.

Finally, his official appearance, especially in recent times, has not added anything significantly to warrant our trust of Tiso on the German side.

Whenever Tiso claims that his speeches (e.g. in Nitra) are addressed to various groups, perhaps one cannot argue against this, for his dialectic is truly excellent. But one cannot overlook the fact that the President knows full well the caliber of his people, and consequently he must be aware of the fact that all political double-talk, even if having reference to other states with an interest in Slovakia, is understood by the populace as being aimed at the Reich, and finally, a keen observer can grasp what is going on in the highest positions of the state and confirm what he has long suspected, and that is the consequence of influence from the enemy side.

It is, generally speaking, problematical to depend upon Tiso entirely.

Consideration of the party as a factor in the internal political security of the country is a mistaken notion. The leading positions in the party are held by persons with anti-German sentiments. If, for the sake of argument, one considers these people generally without power, and therefore harmless to our cause, it must be noted that then they are not capable of insuring the defense of an internal front to the degree and measure demanded for the interests of the Reich. And even

if we assume indifference, the interests of the Reich are not assured since German direction and control are possible under present conditions only with great difficulty.

The Nazis were also well informed about the political views of Tiso's political aides. For example, in a detailed and extensive report of November 28, 1944, from Bratislava, addressed to the main office of security in the Reich, III B and III C, which was delivered to both SS-Standardführer Dr. Ehrlich and Dr. Spengler in Berlin, among other items, there is reference to the relationship of Hlinka's Slovak Peoples Party and the Hlinka Guards. The German reporter writes that "the Hlinka Guard considers itself national socialist and absolutely pro-German while the party advocates a form of Christian nationalism as a Slovak ideology, and that it looks upon Slovak-German cooperation and friendship as a temporary and not a permanent association. and this opportunism (certainly not based on a bond of affection) the party spokesmen spread through the Slovak press."

After the uprising (the so-called Slovak revolt of August-October, 1944) the Nazi informer writes:

"The Party ideologically prepared propaganda favoring a Christian social world view, and Opuštil, the general secretary, adopted this as part of his program for immediate implementation. Dr. Jozef Paučo, chief editor of the Slovák daily addressed the members of the 'Domobrana' (National Defense) on the problems of Slovak spiritual orientation and simultaneously declared clearly that for the Slovaks only the Christian national point of view is acceptable. Even more clearly did the member of parliament čavojský state this in his radio broadcast of November 8, 1944. He said. to quote: 'As an independent and Christian nation we want to live in freedom in our own free land. A good and selfconscious Slovak never desired a change of masters, he wanted to be master of his own destiny in his own country. In the same way we do not want an exchange of foreign ideologies because these are not for our national interest. As Christians we want to establish our own social, economic and cultural life on the basis of a Christian world view.'

Dr. Körper's address had a Sophist tone, the reporter notes, when he said: 'Our agreement with Germany was precious and fundamental because it guaranteed the strongest and freest right for national life which, up to 1939, no other power on earth was willing to recognize as our right to national existence. If there had been another possibility the Slovaks most probably would have chosen to act otherwise.'

Dr. Ferdinand Ďurčanský, former foreign minister, spoke in the same vein when he declared: 'I am not a Bolshevik but it is possible I may become one if I can thereby be of service to my nation.'

Čavojský, member of the Slovak parliament, in his above mentioned radio address said: 'A bit of egoism in the life of nations is not harmful; in these times we must not forget that alien interests are not always identical with our own national interests.' In other words, he wanted to tell the Slovak people not to subscribe to any wartime party but to work for themselves and to wait for the outcome of events in the future.

For the time being the young opposition, encouraged by Opuštil, that is, the Mikula-Polakovič wing, the Nazi official informer notes: "Party discipline was imposed upon Mikula for his activity. In the event of this opposition. however, there is no hope of friendly aid to the Germans, but only in the interests of the young Slovak chauvinists who stand uncompromisingly for Slovak independence, and therefore are opposed to any kind of German interference in Slovak internal affairs. This opposition party, first of all, has adherents among university students and may be considered the successor of the former adherents of Nástup from which emerged activistic elements led by Dr. Durčanský, former minister of foreign affairs in the Slovak Republic. By his resolute stand and frequent addresses to the university students, and his association with this opposition movement, Dr. Ďurčanský considers this to be a bridge to new political action."

German Nazis saw Slovak politicians surrounding President Tiso at the end of November, 1944, in this light. (See the above mentioned publication, pp. 435-446).

These documents, and others in the same way, including the well known Documents on German Foreign Policy published by the British, French and American governments, uniformly place the political activity of Dr. Joseph Tiso and his associates during the second World War in an objective light. This means in a practical sense the political rehabilitation of Slovak political policy during this era on the basis of ideological principles.

Dr. Tiso was of the opinion that in Slovakia the ideological defense against Nazism and Bolshevist Stalinism can be successfully accomplished only on the basis of a Christian world view derived mainly from Catholicism. All this can be disputed, but Tiso's good intentions cannot be denied. Fundamentally, there is no proof to the contrary.

Dr. Joseph Tiso was an extraordinary person. During the second World War his political life was surrounded by obstacles, threats and dangers such as very few statesmen had to face in this epoch. The unique Slovak situation increased and complicated his public life. His tragic death as a punishment for the declaration and successful realization of the independence of the Slovak state, and also as revenge for his opposition to the bolshevik invasion and its subsequent criminal Stalinist establishment of the communist regime in his country, all this forces one to evaluate perhaps even his political mistakes obviously from many different angles. Nevertheless, his political career was subject to criticism during wartime as it is today, and it was not infrequently marked by bitter partisan politics, prejudice, injustice and merciless condemnation. He was subject to hateful attacks by the communists, angry criticism by the Nazis, hatred on the part of those in the service of Czech imperialism, as well as by unjust accusations by contemporary historians and in many details unjustly condemned by the uninformed or highly prejudiced historical writers and journalists of our time. And now the Vatican newspaper!

In spite of all this the memory of Dr. Joseph Tiso remains revered by the great majority of Slovaks living in their homeland and throughout the world. Few Slovak political leaders, living or dead, enjoy his stature as a statesman, his popularity and enduring fame among his own people.

Dr. Joseph Tiso was undoubtedly a foremost political leader on the entire European scene. Lightning strikes only the tallest trees!

Sonya Jason

### Good Times and Love

#### THE LIFE OF THOMAS AND MARIE BELL

One learns a great deal about any person by the mate he or she chooses. This is especially pertinent for a writer. I had been most fortunate in reading the last of Thomas Bell's books first and while reading In the Midst of Life, became well acquainted with a man of integrity, courage and honesty to the very end. But beyond Bell the man and writer, I caught deep glimpses of the tender love and regard he held for his wife, Marie, and later discovered that these qualities weave in and out like a golden thread through all his works. Now, I could only know Bell by his written memorials. But happily, I could still learn to know the woman he loved and thus I sought out to investigate her, what manner of woman this was that has been loved as few women have, and what was the meter of their life together that produced such affection.

She stood in the doorway of her house in Santa Cruz, a tiny, dark haired lady in a chic pantssuit. A glance, a warm embrace and she led me into the kitchen for a chicken sandwich and coffee before she would talk of anything or anyone, even Bell.

Marie Bell summarized her life with her husband as full of "good times and love." And for several hours we talked of some of those good times and the love.

Thomas Belejcak was born in Braddock, Pennsylvania, on March 7, 1903. His father was an immigrant Slovak but his mother was a first generation American of Slovak parents. He was the oldest of four children and was trained in the Roman Catholic religion, but later repudiated all religions. He also regretted the Anglicizing of his name to Bell but understood the necessity at the time it was done out of economic urgency.

Bell's father died on his 11th birthday and he became the man of the family and at 15, was working in a glass company in Glassport, Pennsylvania. When he was 16 and working as an apprentice electrician in Donora, Pennsylvania, his mother died of tuberculosis in a sanitarium. His brother and sisters were shifted about to various relatives to care for. At 19, with the sum of \$15.00 in his pocket, Bell went to New York, sleeping in subways until he found a job. He worked for a time as a mechanic in a Long Island Railroad shop before he shipped out to sea as seaman for two years. Upon his return, he found a job as salesman for Schulte's Book Store and then sent for his brother and two sisters to live with him.

He wrote his first novel in his spare time, *The Breed of Basil*, which was neither a great literary nor financial success but revealed a sensitive talent for feeling and words.

It was shortly after that he first met Marie Benedetti, the laughing, dark eyed, dark haired Marie whose characteristics were to appear in the woman in his books and stories. It was a traditional meeting but never again was this couple to follow tradition. Bell's sister, Evelyn, worked for Norcross Greeting Card Co., as did Marie, and she asked Marie and another girl for dinner. Marie arrived with a copy of a P. G. Wodehouse book under her arm. After dinner, Bell took her to the subway but accompanied the other girl all the way home across town. Later, he confided to Marie that he lost interest in the other girl when she tried to impress him with her encyclopedia.

He then wrote a note to her asking for a date and arrived with a corsage of three yellow roses that were not quite appropriate for the date spent playing ball in the park. But they dated regularly after that day until he felt he should state his intentions.

"I want you to know that I am not the marrying kind," Bell announced, not long after that first date in April 1931.

"Then we had better call the whole thing off, because I am," she countered.

Happily, they did not call it off and on January 2, 1932, 28-year-old Thomas Bell took for his bride the lovely 19-year-old Marie to begin twenty-seven years of that life of good times and love.

The beginning was hardly auspicious as an astrologer

might put it. During their first year of marriage, Bell became ill with pneumonia. After his recovery, he was forced to make a choice. Write or work. Not both. Years later, his widow stated unequivocally, that had he attempted to work and write that "it would have killed him," and noted that "A writer gives and gives, you see, never takes, and very quickly expends himself."

But she refuses credit for the fact that without her or a wife just like her, there would have been few other or maybe no other books by Bell. He might well have lapsed into another frustrated creative writer whose talent is buried in the cares of the workaday world out of the necessity of earning a living for his family.

But there was another destiny for Bell. And Marie was the focal point in it. She became the breadwinner of the family when he made his choice to write. "We had the perfect arrangement," she says now. "Tom wrote from 9 until 4. Then he straightened the house, cooked dinner, ordinary things for me he thought I needed and the strict diet things for him. Then we read, played games, visited and just enjoyed our hours together."

Marie worked her way up from 17-year-old messenger to a \$10,0000 a year art director when she left Norcross in 1955 to move to Santa Cruz.

After his crucial decision, Bell wrote his second book, The Second Prince, published in England under the title, Striker Godown. In this, he utilizes many of his own experiences and expounds his views of striking out against a life of conformity—whatever risk such rebellion entails. Marie says it was during this period that he was finding himself as a person and a writer.

His third novel was probably the most financially successful, Marie recalls that when he dropped by her office after a visit to his agent and swung her in the air, she caught a whiff of alcohol, something he almost never touched. "I knew something big had happened," she smiled.

He showed her the one year screen writer contract that *All Brides Are Beautiful* had brought and swung her high again. "We're on our way to Hollywood," as they both laughed with joy.

She remembers that year of 1937 in Hollywood when the book was made into the movie, *From This Day Forward*, as one of the most carefree in their lives. But when it came to an end, Bell refused to sign another contract. "I have other books to write," he decided, and they returned to New York.

In 1940 he became seriously ill and for two years, underwent tests before a malignancy in the ilium was discovered. Ever after, he had to adhere to a stringent diet which placed limitations upon mobility and life style.

Marie credits her parents for Bell's recovery from the surgery for malignancy. They owned a farm in New Jersey and it was there that Bell went to recuperate. When she saw him three weeks later, she hardly recognized the emaciated husband she had left there. Her mother had cared for Bell, cooking and coaxing him to eat until fifteen pounds were added to the spare frame.

"He loved my parents and they loved him. In fact, my whole family loved him," Marie says. "They asked his advice and called him Al. In them, he found the love from a family and parents that he was not able to get from his own."

After recovery, their life resumed its peaceful routine. Writing, reading, cooking and photography for Bell. Working, reading, planning their trips to Coney Island, Nantucket, and plays and family for Marie. It was then that Bell wrote his most powerful novel. *Out of This Furnace* is the saga of three generations of Slovak Americans with all the societal changes and the part they played. But here, he reveals at his best the varying relationships of men and women and how they changed generation by generation. At the end, the relatively independent young wife of Dobie may be the new era of more individual relationships of man-wife of the present and of the Bells themselves.

Till I Come Back to You followed. Made into a play, it was badly received by Bell and the public and closed after a brief run on Broadway.

During this period he wrote short stories. "That was fun..." Marie chuckles now: "He would take a week to write one of these romantic boy-girl things and sell it for

two thousand dollars or more. We had lots of money then."

Out of the 25 stories he wrote, one serious effort, *The Man Who Made Good in America*, was about the Slovak workers in the mills and republished in *Our Lives, American Labor Stories* in 1948. It is still acclaimed for its poignant example of the exploitation of the Slovak mill workers.

The last of Bell's novels shows the refined technique of research blended with perception until the reader is certain that the writer of *There Comes A Time* had worked as a bank teller. Actually, Marie reveals that the union permitted him to work briefly as a teller and in other bank functions for this story of the formation of a labor union in the bank and its unification with the larger union.

As in all his honest works, Bell never falls into the trap of "good guys versus bad guys, or even not so good guys." There are no heroes or heroines. There are people, real people, like Joel Pane who responds to that cross road in everyone's life when one must choose to do more with his life than just exist, or ignore that resurgence of life's beckoning at the price of beginning to decline in spirit as the physiological counterpart begins its descent. Joel Pane, however, like Bell himself, opts for life and its risks and wins his moment of peace with himself.

In 1950, nearing fifty years of age, Bell developed a writing block. In exploring the reason for it with his widow, the traditional questions were asked. Was it due to the severe emotional deprivation? Being the man of the family at age eleven? The fact that there never had been a childhood? The harshness of his father? Any and all of these were enough to decimate the strongest psychological constitution.

Three years of analysis followed and Bell learned to understand and accept that the tragedy of his early life was also the tragedy of his parents and an entire two or three generations of immigrants who shared in and shaped the upheaval of America, as much too gradually the shackles of poverty and exploitation were thrown off.

At the end of three years, he brought Marie to meet his analyst. After a long conference, Dr. Rustin laughingly told him, "With a wife like yours, you don't need analysis. Just don't ever use it to mistreat her in any way..." Thus ended the inner journey to the psyche, at least with the help of an analyst. For he traveled the rest of his way alone but travel he did.

And he traveled outwardly, too, for this now freed him to do something he had long wanted, move to California. But it was not until he was certain that his beloved mother-in-law would be all right as his father-in-law had died two years before, and she could adjust to Marie moving far away and leaving her with Marie's two sisters in New York.

In his journal, *In the Midst of Life*, he poignantly describes that last long plane trip that ushered in a new life of being shopkeepers of a stationery and book store.

"Tom had five more years of life out here. I never gave up... when we knew he had an inoperable tumor, we tried every chemical known to science... every treatment... until the very last day, I never gave up hope."

And those five years were good ones although Bell wrote only on note pads and in his journal. A poor sleeper, he utilized this time for jotting down ideas and thoughts that came to an active mind.

The question of childlessness had to be asked and it was. Marie pondered this for a time before she replied in her direct way.

"I never minded not having children as I didn't have much of a maternal instinct. But I regretted it for Tom. He would have been a wonderful father..." she reflected with tenderness. "He was one of those unusual people who can play with children and yet approach them with the sense of dignity of their being a distinct individual. Children loved him. My nieces and nephews loved him and when grown, often talked and still do of how he played with them and talked with them..."

The shortsightedness of adoption agencies was never a subject that Bell mentioned in his writing, perhaps too sensitive an area for exploration. But Marie tells how they were refused a child—even an older child not too easily adoptable—because she worked outside the house and Bell would have been the one to remain in the home to care for the child. This was an arrangement very suspect and considered abnormal at that time.

But he refused to let it blight their lives. "Don't worry about it, Marie," he assured her. "We will just have to be a little bit closer to each other, that's all." Whatever else he felt, he carried it to the ocean grave with his ashes, but one suspects he would never write anything that might even slightly hurt the woman he loved.

Again and again the thought of how far ahead of their time the Bells were would intrude in the middle of a statement by Marie or in reading passages from his books. How complete was his acceptance of his woman, how spontaneous the expressions of affection; notes pinned on a mirror, a hand scrawled message for "16 years with the right woman" to accompany the birthday lapel pin, a kiss in the middle of Broadway for no reason other than "I just thought how glad I am that you are with me."

He recorded some of these moments with his photographic hobby. Nudes of his wife enjoying a waterfall, strolling the beach in shorts, playing with animals or pensively reading. He recorded them also in words in all his books, but particularly that last journal.

One is particularly touched by his account of those last few months when he knew he was dying. One is even more scored with poignancy in the account of those last days by his widow.

When he knew his end was imminent, he asked his brother to take him to the hospital so "Marie won't come home from the store and find me dead." There, he lived one day, a day that she still hoped would not be his last, that a miracle would happen. On the last visit, she was able to tell him that *In the Midst of Life* was to be published by Atheneum Publishers. He patted her hand and murmured "Good publishers, Marie." She left, hoping that this would spark some new life into his wasted body. But a few hours later, he was dead.

Later, she learned of how painstakingly he had planned all details of the funeral to spare her; the arrangements for cremation, the brief service, and even the outfit she would wear, the beige coat and dress rather than dark colors he hated to see her in.

It was a rare funeral for California, where people avoid funerals at all costs if they can. But over 220 of his friends, customers, business acquaintances, nurses and doctors from the hospital, neighbors, all gathered for the short service. It was concluded by Marie placing a corsage of three yellow roses on his coffin, then closing it forever.

In August 1961, the cardboard cakebox containing his ashes was dropped into the bay at Santa Cruz, and only the corsage of three yellow roses marked the spot for moments before it, too, floated downwards into that deep ocean of foreverness, leaving behind the two things he loved best, his "wife and typewriter" as he put it so starkly in those last words he wrote.

Several months later, his widow showed that his instinct in choosing her for mate was right for she revealed integrity to match his own. Offered a huge sum of money to sell the book to Readers' Digest Condensed Book Club, she refused. She could not "bear to have Tom's last work, all of him that was in that book, cut up and changed until it was no longer him. He would not have liked that."

Instead, she consented to the sale of two chapters that would be published as he wrote them. They appeared in the July issue of the Digest, with the title, *Six Months to Live*.

Bell began his life with impatience as if he realized that it would not span the traditional three score and ten. He sat up at six months, and fearing something amiss, his parents consulted a doctor who assured them there was not. From then on, he seemed to always be in a hurry, to live, to love, to understand and to express it all.

Reading his way through the local library in his teens, he cut his writing eye teeth on the real meat of Montaigne, Seneca, Keats, Russell, and Thoreau as well as all the classics.

He worked at various jobs until he had no choice but to write only. When that seemed ended, he made his choice again and returned to the community life as a shopkeeper and enjoyed those that he loved most, his wife, brother and sister-in-law, the beach and the solitude of reading and jotting ideas and thoughts. So sure his writing days were ended, he told no one of his past successes but it was only when they came to pay those last respects did most the mourners learn that he was a writer. "He was fascinated with people," Marie explained, "and he wanted them to talk to him as a person, not a writer."

To the last, he took care of the woman he loved, planning her income and living arrangements and for that final act of dropping his ashes into the ocean, he had arranged for his brother to perform that function, not her.

Bell was a third generation Slovak-American, and with his generation, the family of the Bells have ended. Curiously, none of his siblings had offspring as did neither he and his Marie. And yet, that life instinct was transmuted into his writing creativity, telling us years later about the immigrants and people of his time, more so than if he had had children who may have failed to perceive and pass on the truths about that life in that time and that place.

Without his Marie it is doubtful that his mission would have been accomplished, although she refuses to see it other than in terms of the good fortune of having been the recipient of immeasurable tenderness and love, from her parents first and then from Bell. She felt that the score is even, he owed her nothing nor did she him.

Ironically, Bell owned no property in his lifetime. But only three years ago, after selling the store, his widow bought the first house she ever owned and is living in it, pretty much as she always did, filling the days with friends, relatives, reading as much as she can and attending plays. She has no regrets except that Bell did not live his normal life span to share these years with her, but aside from that understandable one, her erect figure, easy and lilting laugh and bright brown eyes are the heritage of sharing a life of 27 years of "good times and love."

In evaluating Bell and his books, I learned of a man of no pretense, hypocrisy and of great integrity. He told of the joys, fears and disappointmets in what the most recent psychological terminology would term "real" that has no denials of his true feelings. How much of this was his Slovak inheritance and how much individual Bell, who can say.

But the destiny of his life was a good one. He produced good, very good, work and the affectionate qualities of his life were good indeed. Parents-in-law who filled the long void of a loveless childhood, a wife who fitted her life to his easily and with no complaint, and countless friends and acquaintances to enjoy the good times and finally, the courage to endure that last bitter time at the end.

Although Bell disbelieved in a life after death, this is beyond his power and it appears that the strong spirit expressed in his writing is having a resurgence. One understands, as one of his doctors wrote Marie after his death, "that he was a most unusual man whose facing of the suffering of the transfusions and taps and pain was with courage we seldom see." More than that, the reader senses, as did the literary critics who received his last book, the basic decency and goodness of the man and his life and therefore celebrate their continuance, in whatever form perceived.

For of all the eternal qualities, that of goodness may be the most valuable. Without it, nothing else is quite palatable; success or failure, joy or grief, even life or death, and certainly no human relationship of a lasting nature can exist without a measure of it. For goodness is the great leavener that brings all things in perspective, as wrote Dostoevski in his novel, *The Idiot*. It is the quality perhaps most derided but still, the one most yearned for—in others—and when present, is remembered long after all else is forgotten.

One wishes with Bell's widow that the quantity of his years may have been greater, at least the three score and ten of the Bible he doubted or disbelieved, in the assumption that more books would have been forthcoming. And yet, in the final summation, one accepts reluctantly, as no doubt did Bell, that for the man and for the writer, that surely one could do worse.

Much worse, indeed.

# 70th Anniversary of the Slovak People's Party

By Joseph Paučo, Ph.D.

Ferko Skyčák, a prominent and able Slovak political leader before World War I, announced that he was dropping out of the Magyar Popular Party on December 5, 1905, and simultaneously called upon his Slovak colleagues to organize a new Slovak political party to serve the best interests of the Slovak nation.

Immediate response to Skyčák's proposal came from Andrej Hlinka, Ferdiš Juriga, František Jehlička, Jozef Kubina, Milan Hodža, Martin Kollár, Pavol Blaho and others. All supported and approved his political program.

In 1906 the newly-formed Slovak People's Party (Slovenská ľudová strana) entered the political arena in Hungary and, despite bitter official government opposition, the Slovaks elected seven representatives to the Hungarian diet in Budapest.

The political platform of the Slovak People's Party of 1906 consisted of the following points:

- 1) Condemnation of Communism and Socialism
- 2) Support of the issue for equal rights and a secret ballot
- 3) Demand for free assembly and the right to organize societies
- 4) Reduction of taxes
- 5) Laws to prevent economic road-blocks to industry in Slovakia
- 6) An increased number of schools and a guarantee of positions and equitable salaries for qualified Slovak teachers
- 7) Subsidy for special commercial, trade and agricultural schools
- 8) Assurance to workers against capitalistic exploitation
- 9) Reduction of working-hours and an increase of wages

Although limited by circumstances of time and place, the new Slovak political party activated the program and continued its activities. Andrej Hlinka, the chairman of the party from 1913, reorganized it on December 19, 1918, and announced the publication of the *Slovák* as the official party newspaper.

Chief opposition to the party came from the Socialists who attacked Hlinka and his followers by charges that they all belonged to the Magyar-Jesuit camp. They stopped at nothing to destroy the Slovak People's Party. They instigated plots and violently broke up meetings of the party. The government insidiously collaborated with them by censoring the publication of the Slovák daily, by stopping delivery to subscribers, by police raids and confiscation of material for publication, and by secret instigation of riots to break up meetings and rallies of the Slovak People's Party. Mobs received help from the police and constabulary in dispersing meetings of the party throughout the country. Two of Hlinka's adherents were killed in the Rumanová riot and many were wounded elsewhere in riots instigated by the enemies of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party through the 1920's and early 1930's.

Hlinka was seized by the police on October, 1919, and imprisoned because he had dared to attend the Paris peace conference (without government approval). This obviously was a subterfuge to cover up the government's plan to destroy his party by removing its stalwart champion.

Precisely 17 days before the first national elections in the country (1920) a Socialist mob invaded Hlinka's 'Lev' printery in Ružomberok and damaged the plant. In spite of all these attempts to destroy the Slovak party of the people led by Hlinka, the Slovak People's Party received 12 mandates in the general elections.

After the elections Hlinka declared that he would work day and night until Slovakia became white instead of red, until Slovakia would be Slovak and Christian.

On the whole, the temporary Socialist victory was due not only to the terroristic tactics employed but also to the fact that approximately 200,000 Czech soldiers voted the Socialist ticket in Slovakia! Leaders of the Slovak People's Party readily perceived, therefore, the danger of an anti-

Slovak movement in the Socialist program. Therefore, the representatives of the Slovak People's Party denounced the results of the vote as undemocratic and in no way representative of the will of the Slovak nation and its electorate.

Nonetheless, the Socialists, intoxicated by their questionable triumph for the moment, proceeded to take steps for the complete subjugation of Slovakia. But their greatest tactical error was their personal vendetta against Hlinka and his associates. Accordingly, on May 1, 1920, a Socialist mob attacked Hlinka in Ružomberok. Forewarned, Hlinka was protected by a strong bodyguard that warded off the attack on his life.

Other violent clashes followed this dastardly attempt on the life of the great Slovak leader. In August, 1920, a Slovak party member was killed in Pruské; Hlinka was stoned in šaštín on September 26 that same year, and on October 10, two of Hlinka's followers were murdered in Námestovo. From 1920 on, as Karol Sidor noted, the radical leftists of the Socialist party and its allies vowed to kill Hlinka at the first opportunity.

Bloody incidents occurred repeatedly through the early 1920's. On March 25, 1921, one more Hlinka follower in Trnava paid with his life for his convictions. In Krupina on June 12, 1921, shooting occured in Hlinka's presence. Fortunately, no one was seriously wounded. A riot in Trencianske Teplice on July 4, 1921, was followed by an outbreak in Malacky on September 4, 1921, and on May 25, 1922, a mob broke into the editorial offices of the *Slovák* daily and destroyed everything.

Government censorship and pressure were so powerful that Hlinka was forced to suspend the publication of the *Slovák* temporarily in 1923. Anti-Slovak elements on August 28, 1923, in Prešov, and in Košice on September 22 of that year attacked a Hlinka rally. Czech officials displayed their opposition and enmity to Hlinka openly, and criminal characters were planted in the front ranks of mobs incited to destroy Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. Another Hlinka follower was killed in Košice during a demonstration.

Such terroristic methods of the leftists against Hlinka, however, served to wake up the Slovak people who rallied behind their dynamic leader and succeeded in electing half of the local officials who were members of the Slovak People's Party in the elections of September 30, 1923.

Once again the Socialists rose up in fury against Hlinka, but this time the Slovak people were thoroughly aroused so that on September 6, 1924, on the eve of Hlinka's 60th birthday, his party had become powerful enough to win respect from its violent opponents. Dr. Vavro Šrobár, one of Hlinka's most outspoken opponents, was forced to admit on October 28, of that year, that "the Slovak People's Party was a national party in which the spirit of nationalism was a rejuvenated and vigorous force."

A final tally of 489,027 votes was garnered by the Slovak People's Party in the parliamentary elections of 1925. This strong vote made the party the most dominant Slovak party among the total of 29 political parties in Slovakia and Bohemia.

Beginning in 1927, the tactics of the Slovak People's Party were changed in the hope that a coalition inside the government would bring about better results. But by October, 1929, after a series of failures, it became apparent its hope for success in obtaining just rights for the Slovak nation rested solely upon its own individual action. The decision to proceed on its course without any ties with the government in Prague met with an increase in membership at home and a series of successes followed under the new policy.

From 1925 on, the Slovak People's Party succeeded in gaining at least 50% of the votes in the parliamentary compaigns in Slovakia. It is a well known fact that Hlinka's political strength lay in the vote of the farmers, but he had a strong following among the workers, too, and his influence among educated young Slovaks increased steadily.

Turbulent, indeed, were the meetings and political rallies that attracted five to ten thousand members of the Slovak People's Party in the first years of the Czecho-Slovak Republic in the 1920's. As overflow crowd of Slovaks came to Nitra in 1933 for the 11th centennial Pribina celebration. There more than 100,000 demonstrated that the people's choice was unquestionably Hlinka, and not the official government representatives flanked by hundreds of police and soldiers.

Piešťany in 1936 was the host city to an outpouring of 30,000 members of the Slovak People's Party for a conference, and on June 4 and 5, 1938, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Pittsburgh Pact, over a hundred thousand people came from all parts of Slovakia to Bratislava to welcome the American Slovak delegation that brought the original of the Pittsburgh Pact for the national celebration. The reading of the document was met with a resounding cheer of approval from the great crowd in the Slovak capital.

Andrej Hlinka, on the basis of this historic document for the self-government or autonomy of Slovakia, expressed his unequivocal approval of the Pittsburgh Pact in the spirit of the American Slovaks who drew it up on the one side, and signed by Thomas G. Masaryk on the other, on May 30, 1918.

There was no doubt that the absolute majority of American Slovaks were in favor of Hlinka's movement that was dedicated to win freedom for the Slovak nation, freedom in its self-government or autonomous state.

At this time the first generation of Slovak immigrants controlled the Slovak organizations and periodicals in America. One can safely assume that the number of Hlinka's followers in America was at least 400,000.

It was natural for the American Slovaks under the leadership of the Slovak League of America to work hand in hand with Hlinka. They were intensely proud of their creation of the Pittsburgh Pact which was the expression of their aspirations and the first step towards realizing the right of the Slovak nation to self-government.

Slovak emigrants who returned to their native homeland from America were imbued with the American spirit of freedom and democracy. Not one of these opposed Hlinka. At least I never heard of such a person. On the contrary, they became his most ardent and loyal followers. Perhaps that is why even the internal structure of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party differed basically from all the other political parties inside Czecho-Slovakia.

While the Czech political parties represented classes, various trades or occupations, etc., the Slovak People's Party and its associate, the Slovak National Party, success-

fully recruited party members from all walks of life. Hence, is was truly representative of the entire Slovak nation.

One of the blessings of the influence of the Slovak People's Party accrued to the Matica Slovenská (Slovak Institute) in Turčiansky Svätý Martin, which was able to get rid of all foreign elements in its administration. At the Slovak University in Bratislava, too, the growing power of the Slovak People's Party was felt as the positions of Czech professors became shaky. Slovak college and university students there became enthusiastic (and sometimes radical) members of the Slovak People's Party in which they formed the nucleus of the most loyal followers of Hlinka and Rázus.

Hlinka's sincere attempt to cooperate with Czech Catholics ended in failure. He abandoned the idea and proceeded to concentrate on his own program that was vital to the interests of the Slovak nation. In the early 1930's the Slovak National Party under Rázus joined Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. This was a solid bloc for Slovak autonomy established in agreement with the view of Dr. Tiso who declared that in Slovak politics a Slovak Lutheran was closer to a Slovak Catholic than a Czech Catholic.

Autonomy was the primary and ultimate goal of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. True, however, it was but another small step from there to statehood. In March, 1939, it would have been a crime, and as an aftermath, national suicide, to have acted otherwise than did the Slovak leaders who declared national independence and set up an independent Slovak Republic. The alternative was to let the Slovak nation become a victim of several alien protectorates, reduced to complete slavery under the complete control of no less than three different states.

As a direct consequence of the heroic decision (and fateful personally to many who were courageous and bold enough to make it for the welfare of the Slovak nation) the Slovak People's Party gave the Slovak nation a long list of national martyrs, headed by President Tiso and Prime Minister Vojtech Tuka. But their brave action saved the Slovak nation from enslavement at the hands of several foreign powers.

Before the end of the second World War the first to die because of their alliance with the heroic men who held the Slovak nation intact during the entire worldwide conflict were two Slovak parliament members, namely, František Slameň and Fr. Anton šalát. They died at the hands of the apocalyptic forces of the East and their traitorous allies during the pro-Communist rebellion in the fall of 1944. Many more suffered and died for the self-same sacred cause of faith and freedom in the years that followed the so-called Soviet liberation of the country.

Although the Slovak People's Party was completely liquidated after the second World War by the communist regime, the communists and their allies continued to blame all anti-state activities upon a party that no longer existed. Of course, the underlying reason was on both sides. What Karel Světlik, a Czech communist, declared in 1922 was applied in the postwar years because "We are a political party," Světlik stated, "that is farthest removed from the people's party."

Mary examples of Christian fortitude were given in past decades among the ranks of the Slovak People's Party that contributed much more than the mere winning of votes or the victory of partisan politics. Hundreds suffered and died for their honest convictions at the hands of their undemocratic foes.

In the process of developing the Slovak nation to full maturity the final stages may be attributed largely to the efforts of the Slovak People's Party. As a matter of fact, the handful of communists would not have dared to ask for anything in the Košice Agreement at the end of the second World War had not the Slovak People's Party in the Slovak Republic held the Slovak nation united during the war. To tell the truth, however, the agreement documented between the Slovak communists and the postwar government of Czecho-Slovakia was a long cry from the Pittsburgh Pact, but it at least basically recognized the existence of the Slovak nation! That essentially was the outcome of Hlinka's struggle and the result of the Slovak Republic, a final culmination of the internal conflicts between two World Wars.

If in the free world today those who were on Hlinka's side as active participants, or merely sympathizers, discuss the Slovak problem as an international problem, they give voice to one of the first objectives of the reorganized Slovak

People's Party in 1922. Its program opened with the following declaration:

The Slovak problem ceased being merely an internal problem of one state a long time ago. It has become actually a critical international problem in our time.

Whoever would defend his views with such a "reactionary" program could truly congratulate himself. It is time that we pay tribute to Andrej Hlinka for his vision and sacrifice in behalf of the Slovak nation and to Dr. Jozef Tiso who died for his resolute decision to bring the Slovak problem into the international sphere and before the world forum.

The Slovak People's Party played an honorable role in the political life of the Slovak nation, and its place in history ranks high in the light of incontestable evidence that remains as a permanent record of achievement and an inspiration for all who seek great ideals and permanent values in Slovak politics of that era.

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I recently found myself again reading the No. 47 issue of your annual *Slovakia* in an effort to gain more informational material on Slovak life and culture. *Slovakia* is the only really authoritative source for information on this region. It is useful in research, studies, teaching and documentary and lecture preparation. I am most pleased to be able to receive *Slovakia*.

Finally, I have had occasion to use *Slovakia* in lecturing to students and other interested groups on Slovak life and culture, and also in research. Several associates have read *Slovakia* issues of the past and they tell me they have gained new and interesting insights and knowledge into Slovakia's history, political development, the Slovak people and their customs, culture, and life.

Earl J. Bornschein, Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin

# Dark Hours of the Church in Slovakia

After the shock of the Russian invasion of Czecho-Slovakia on August 21, 1968, the first task of Moscow and its collaborators in that country was to "normalize" the situation. The term "normalization" in communist jargon meant the abrogation of all civil liberties gained during the Dubček regime and the imposition of rigid control on public and private life of all citizens.

After Alexander Dubček fell in disgrace of Moscow, Gustáv Husák, his former right hand, used all available methods to get to the top of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia and to stay there with the blessing of Moscow. He did not hesitate to renege on all the principles of Dubček's "Communism with human face". Under the supervision of Moscow's emissaries it did not take long before the country returned to the brutal Stalinist era of Antonín Novotný.

The so-called "normalization" applies to all sections of life in Czecho-Slovakia, including religious life. Since 1969 the atheistic propaganda is steadily increasing in printed publications and in broadcasting. The teachers are pressed to spread anti-religious indoctrination on all levels of education, in all subject-matters taught in schools. It is permissible for the priests to teach religion in school buildings after the regular curriculum in grade schools one hour weekly for lower grades and one hour bi-weekly for upper grades. But it can be done only with a written petition of both parents who must come personally to the principal of the school. In such an interview, the principal, as a rule, tries to influence even to intimidate the parents. Children who have attended religious classes are not admitted to higher education and their parents are branded as unreliable to the Communist regime. Public servants are dissuaded from attending Masses and receiving the sacraments.

Freedom of press, so much enjoyed during the short period of Dubček regime, was again suppressed. The only Slovak Catholic weekly newspaper, *Katolicke noviny* (Catholic News) is under strict Communist control. The editor of this newspaper since September 1973 is Rev. Francis Marko. The newspaper prints only selected religious news, and the readers of the paper are fed with Communist Party line editorials and articles. The same applies to the monthly priestly magazine *Duchovný pastier* (Spiritual Shepherd) under the editorship of Rev. Michal Krovina, and to the almanac *Pútnik svätovojtešský* (Pilgrim of St. Vojtech), published annually. All these publications appear under the sponsorship of the Society of St. Vojtech.

The Society of St. Vojtech played a unique role in the history of Slovak Catholics and of the Slovak nation. It was founded in 1870 by Rev. Andrew Radlinský in the time of great magyarization of the Slovak nation. By its large membership and publications this Society kept alive the faith in the souls of Slovak people and the hope for better future. From 1918 till 1945 it made a great progress in its scope and activity. The Society of St. Vojtech became the heart of the Slovak Catholic culture. The Communists after the take-over in 1948 put the Society under their control. They took away its printery and book bindery, discarded its membership and completely changed its structure and mission. Besides the three above mentioned regular publications they permitted to publish under the name of the Society of St. Vojtech some prayer and liturgical books and parish administration forms. The main purpose of the "nationalized" Society of St. Voitech became the selling of liturgical and devotional objects and the distribution of Mass wine to all the parishes of Slovakia.

Since 1948 the new Society of St. Vojtech was managed by an Executive Committee, headed by Rev. Alexander Horák, a well known pro-Communist priest. With the arrival of Dubček thaw, this Executive Committee was replaced by two representatives from each diocese of Slovakia. Msgr. John Pöstényi, administrative manager of the Society for several decades, was elected president of the Society of St. Vojtech. Under Pöstényi's leadership the Society, during the short period of more favorable condi-

tions, published a series of much needed liturgical books and the whole new Slovak translation of the Bible. Msgr. Pöstényi also began preparations for the 100th anniversary of the foundation of the Society to be held in 1970. But, meanwhile, the situation worsened again. Msgr. Pöstényi was replaced by Rev. Alexander Horák as the president of the Society, and the principal centenary celebrations on September 24, 1970 were held in the pro-government spirit under the supervision of Communist big wheels.

During the years 1968-1969, the new spirit came also to the Catholic seminary in Bratislava. So many candidates for the priesthood enrolled to the seminary that there was a serious talk about asking permission for opening another one in eastern Slovakia. The barriers in accepting seminarians were broken and in 1968-1969 more than a hundred candidates were accepted into the seminary. But here too the "normalization" took place. In later years many of these candidates for the priesthood were dismissed. And those who were ordained in 1973 and 1974, were sent to military service. The "numerus clausus" and strict selection of candidates were reinforced. Sixty newly ordained priests in one year seemed much too many for the communist supervisors of religious life. On the other hand, several priests who showed extraordinary zeal in performing their ministry, were deprived of state permission to perform parish work and were sent to non-priestly employment or were forced to retire. Some were sentenced to imprisonment on various pretexts.

How could the religious situation worsen so rapidly after all the signs of hope in 1968?

During the years 1950-1968 the Catholic Church in Czecho-Slovakia was kept in firm grips by the Communist government with the help of priests-collaborators organized in the "Peace Movement of the Catholic Clergy". Priests of this organization closely cooperated with the Communist Agencies for Ecclesiastical Affairs and practically dominated the institutional Church in Czecho-Slovakia. Only priests active in this association had some measure of security and possibility of being promoted to higher positions in Church hierarchy, and thus getting higher state salaries. In the

early sixties "The Peace Movement" had ample following among the priests, though not all of them were collaborating with Communist government in equal degree.

On March 21, 1968, in the general of anti-Stalinist mood in all spheres of life, the pro-Communist "Peace Movement of the Catholic Clergy" was forced to disband. The priests loyal to the Church and unburdened by the past organized themselves in a new association called "The Task for the Council Renewal". They began the difficult work of correcting the evils of the precedent era, trying to get rid of the strict control of the Church by Communist agencies and to purge the Church administration from the most compromised collaborators with the former regime. The most meritorious fruit of these efforts were the restoration of the Greek Catholic Diocese of Prešov, Slovakia, which has been forcibly made Orthodox in April 1950. When in 1968 two collaborating vicars capitulars, namely Rev. John Dechet and Rev. Andrew Scheffer died, two solid priests were appointed by Slovak bishop Ambrose Lazík, namely Rev. Joseph Ligoš to take place of Scheffer as administrator of Spiš Diocese and Rev. Francis Haspra as administrator of Banská Bystrica Diocese. There were hopeful signs of restoration of some monasteries and convents suppressed in 1950, as well as of establishing more normal conditions for religious life in general. But the Russian invasion of August 1968 shattered all premature hopes.

New enslavement of the Church was the order of the day of the new post-Dubček regime. Since September 1969, the government was set up to restore the status quo before 1968 in the Church-State relations. For this goal an organization of collaborating priests, similar to the defunct "Peace Movement of the Catholic Clergy" was absolutely necessary. It was pretty difficult to re-organize the discredited priestly pro-Communist organization of "Peace Movements". Finally, on August 31, 1971, the society was resurrected under the name of "The Federation of the Catholic Clergy — Pacem in Terris".

The same old collaborators from the ranks of the clergy worked on the revival of the ill-famed priestly "Peace Movement" and are now leading it, namely, Rev. Nicholas Višňovský, Rev. Stephen Onderko, Rev. Alexander Horák

et al. They openly claim the continuity with the defunct "Peace Movement of the Catholic Clergy". The new organization has the same structure, the same goals and means as the previous one. In close collaboration with State and Provincial agencies for the ecclesiastical affairs the members of this organization gradually took over the Society of St. Vojtech, the residual Catholic press, Catholic Charity, diocesan chanceries, the Cyrilo-Methodian Theological Faculty in Bratislava and whatever Catholic institutions still exist. They pretend to be spokesmen for the Catholic Church in Czecho-Slovakia. After long discussions between the representative of the Holy See (Agostino Casaroli) and the Czecho-Slovak government four new bishops were appointed, three for Slovakia, and one for Moravia in March 1973. The leaders of the "Pacem in Terris" claim that they took part in these negotiations and that the new bishops were members of the "Peace Movement of the Catholic Clergy" and two of them are active members of the "Pacem in Terris". They also claim that all newly appointed canons are active members of the new "Federation of the Catholic Clergy"; that members of this organization have preference in getting free board and room in spas and recreation centers reserved for priest.\*

It is quite shameful that the same discredited priests, who were swept away by the dawn of freedom during the Dubček era, did not hesitate to get involved in collaborating with the atheistic Communism for the second time. If Catholic priests stood unified and not let their ranks infiltrate by collaborators, the Communist aims for enslaving the Church again would have been much more difficult. New set of priests, not burdened with the stained past, probably would have withstood the Communist pressure and preserved at least some measure of independence which the Church gained during the Dubček era.

Theodoric J. Zúbek, O.F.M.

<sup>\*)</sup> Duchovní pastýř, 1974, pp. 30-32; Duchovný pastier, 1974, pp. 145-146.

## Good Slovak Republic

By Konštantin Čulen

It was March 14, 1945. I was scheduled to be the main speaker in a certain Slovak city which was known chiefly for the strange fact that people disliked to go there for celebrations and lectures. The population consisted generally of teachers, professors, students and officials. In short, they lived there because they had to. To my great surprise, the auditorium was filled to capacity ten minutes before the program was slated to start. This was unusual because the town had the reputation of starting all of its programs late in order to give stragglers time to come and give the speaker some encouragement in a sparsely filled hall. On this occasion, however, many had to be turned away but they waited outside during the entire program.

After the program I asked what had brought such a great crowd to the affair. A small landowner explained it this way: "We all feel that our enemies are about to destroy our Slovak Republic. Now we realize more than ever before what we shall lose. I tell you never was the idea of the Slovak Republic as strong as at this very moment, and it will be even stronger when we don't have it any more. But we shall revive it again . . . at the very first opportunity, mind my words," he concluded.

In later years I often recalled what this genuine Slovak patriot had said. Many agreed with him wholeheartedly then, and many still do today. I am fully aware of this, for the idea is very much alive today and stronger, too, for in the passing years people have witnessed the contrast between what was and what is the situation in our time.

Czech politicians, alone, like to think that the Slovak Republic vanished forever. They are convinced that "the Czecho-Slovak Republic is the only plausible solution and way of life for the Slovak nation." The newspapermen spread this propaganda. They ignore the obvious fact that for six years the Slovaks proved this thesis wrong... the reality of the Slovak Republic is proof positive of the

self-reliance of the Slovak nation. The Czech people do not accept this view. If their political leaders do not see the writing on the wall let them live with their illusions.

Is there a nation in the whole wide world which has surrendered its right for a self-governing state, especially after demonstrating, as did the Slovak nation, that it can govern itself successfully?

We know of no such nation. Nations have lost their self-governing states but always by force, by defeat, by treason, but never by a voluntary surrender of their natural right to govern themselves. Well, the Czechs always did consider us to be inferior... no wonder they have such a low opinion of us anyway.

"The Slovaks have gloriously given up their inglorious past," a Czech newspaper gloated. "Still, though they have given up their Slovak state, they repeatedly sigh how good they had it under Tiso," the same article noted. ( $\check{C}as$ , November 17, 1946)

If someone voluntarily and gloriously gives up something, he will not want it back. I am not alone in this opinion. The general secretary of the Socialist-Democratic Party declared in parliament:

"In Slovakia there are forces to preserve an independent Slovakia inside the framework of Czecho-Slovakia. It is imperative for the Slovaks to realize that the patience of Czech public opinion has its limits." (*Sloboda*, December 19, 1946).

Too bad the above mentioned speaker did not venture to predict what would happen the moment those limits of Czech patience were reached. It would be interesting to see if war would follow... or would the Czechs declare their independence?

When we consider this Czech spokesman had in mind the Slovak Democratic Party (which had 62% of the votes and the Slovak Freedom Party 4%, this adds up to 66% of the Slovak people) that favored, as he rightfully suspected, a Slovak state.

Another Czech observer who studied the situation in Slovakia after the Slovaks reportedly 'gave up their right to self-government' declared:

"The average Czech considers the existence of the

Czecho-Slovak Republic as self-evident. He talks Czech but feels like a Czechoslovak, thinks like a Czechoslovak and on state occasions flies the Czechoslovak Flag. It is different in Slovakia, however.

"This is quite obvious as one approaches Bratislava by train. The first tobacco store he sees from the window displays a Slovak emblem. At the railroad station the Slovak Flag is displayed side by side with the Czechoslovak banner... and when the national court is in session the Slovak Flag waves proudly above the bulding. The internal dissension, though not so apparent, is perhaps more or less intense. Sensitiveness in the linguistic sphere, constant vigilance and an air of mistrust, in fact, an atmosphere of expectation, reserve and expediency seems to be everywhere. Actually there are people who find it distasteful to utter the word, 'Czecho-Slovakia'." (Engineer Teyssler, Svobodný zítřek, October 17, 1946).

What does all this signify? Simply that the Slovak nation awaits the opportunity of declaring its freedom. It has not renounced its national destiny. Many others observe the same thing and there are plenty of signs to confirm this view.

Today's situation the Slovak nation regards as a temporary one, one that was forced upon it. To be forced into a state against its will when it is powerless, at the moment, to resist does not mean the Slovak nation has surrendered its natural right to self-government in its own national state.

Archbishop Charles Kmet'ko publicly expressed his conviction under oath on the subject of President Tiso's politics:

To Dr. Šujan's question: "What did the Slovak state give the Slovak nation, morally or otherwise?" The reply by the highest ecclesiastic-Ordinary in Slovakia was spontaneous:

"First of all," he said, "what Hlinka affirmed is an internationally acknowledged principle. Can anyone imagine a nation that does not want self-government? Is it possible that a poor man never dreams of owning his own home some day? Obviously, there is no such nation or person that does not want to be independent and to be master of his own household."

Šujan interposed: "But that independence was dependence!"

Kmet'ko: "Nonetheless, it was ten times better than a protectorate," the archbishop responded.

Šujan: "You denounced the direction of the Hlinka Slovak People's Party at the beginning of the Czecho-Slovak Republic because you foresaw an unhappy outcome. How could you abandon so many of your better principles in relationship to the Czecho-Slovak Republic after Munich?"

Kmet'ko: "The Czecho-Slovak Republic is the only form in which the Slovak nation can live peaceably and progressively. Yet, if, theoretically, we could have a self-governing Slovak state, we could be independent. I say, if it is possible, we are for it. If impossible, we are for the Czecho-Slovak Republic." (Katolicke noviny, March 2, 1947).

If the Czechs were convinced that the Slovak state is theoretically and practically impossible, then they could have used Kmet'ko's arguments as favorable propaganda. But actually they believe that an independent Slovakia is a possibility, not only theoretically but practically because they witnessed its realization. No wonder this statement caused a furore.

Beneš himself retorted:

"This means that if the situation warranted a change the Slovaks tomorrow or the day after tomorrow would be for it. I will never accept this argument. I refuse to consider it in principle. I want a simple solution, clear-cut and definitive. Both of us must speak plainly: yes, yes, no, no!" (March 13, 1947).

The Slovaks must speak out, Beneš says, but first and last on his terms. In other words, they must agree with him, whether they feel that way or not. Since he spoke so vociferously in this tone, he knew that Slovak public opinion opposed his views. That is why he categorically announced he rejected Kmet'ko's opinion.

What virtually is Beneš's attitude towards the Slovak nation? By what right has a foreigner the power to direct the destiny of our nation to its own detriment? Beneš has the right to dictate to us what policy we should follow and what views we are to have? Then any Hungarian, Russian,

Polish or Austrian ruler has that right, too, for these are our neighbors... a logical deduction from Beneš' line of reasoning.

Archbishop Kmet'ko was not Hlinka's follower. Certainly, he was not against Czecho-Slovakia, as such, because he believed as many of us believed, too, that this was the only way for our existence at the time. But he became more and more convinced in time that he was wrong, and that is why he proclaimed his belief in national independence as a better solution.

The spirit of the Slovak Republic proved beyond any shadow of a doubt that the Slovak nation is vitally strong enough to sustain a self-governing state. The idea is very much alive and will once again give life to a new, revived free Slovakia in the future. This is inevitably the final solution to the aspirations of a freedom-loving Slovak people.

A loyal citizen and patriot must support the best solution for his country, not foreign interests that are detrimental to its national interest. Beneš in this struggle represents alien Czech interests, Kmet'ko and Tiso are representatives of the Slovak nation whose interests they defend as leaders of their people who are in full agreement with them.

Schmidtke, a communist, once said:

"There are people who find it difficult to renounce their sympathy for the fascist Slovak state." (*Pravda*, September 6, 1946).

In short, it seems to us that 'the glorious renunciation of the Slovak Republic' is such that neither the Czechs, nor the communists, believe this, on the contrary, at every turn they discover a clear-cut expression of the desire for restoration of the Slovak Republic, and the desire for its renewal is manifested in word and deed on every side.

A government, however, that gives its people a larger loaf of bread, that invests just taxes in its own development, that gives priority to the native language of its people and places it where it rightfully belongs, that builds roads, railways, hospitals, schools, etc., etc., and that emanates from the nation and rules the nation for its best interests, is a good government. Such a government the nation does not renounce.

On the other hand, a nation gives up on a government that takes away the best part of an honestly-earned loaf of bread, that deprives it of using its own language, that attempts to rob it of its nationality, that does not recognize its national identity. Such a government is not good and a nation gladly renounces it.

What government ruled Slovakia in the first and second instance? It is needless to respond to this question, for we have many authentic reports from contemporary ministers and representatives how inept were the various administrations in the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

Further, it is well to cite testimony of fereigners, not at all friendly to us, about how good the Slovak Republic really was. One could publish a book filled with their favorable quotations and observations. Perhaps the following statement will suffice to indicate what others thought of the Slovak Republic:

1) "The average, simple and intelligent Slovak lived in an oasis for six years of prosperity in a free Slovak state under the leadership of Tiso.

"It is true, as we often repeated, that the Slovaks had it good during wartime, not so much because of German kindness but because of their own native skill. In Slovakia there are still signs of this so-called 'German goodness' in contrast to Czech lands." (Osvobozený našinec, December 1, 1946).

- 2) "Slovakia among the small European nations up to the autumn of 1944 remained unaffected directly by the war. Relative security, prosperity brought on, for this or that reason, the growth of national culture and art, national self-consciousness and other circumstances seemed to indicate that the Slovak Republic would not become involved actively in the war at all." (Obzory, E. Komorovský: Slovensko včera a dnes—Slovakia yesterday and today, 1946).
- 3) "Six years during World War II for the Czechs were cruel and retrogressive, for the Slovaks up to 1944 they were economically and socially successful, internationally and politically, however, problematical. During this time Czech industry, although partially dislocated and paralyzed, due to air bombardments, managed to survive and in some instances made progress.

"Meanwhile, the Slovaks for fully five years progressed immensely on all fronts... they had the great advantage of ruling themselves, which we did not have... they not only caught up to us, but even forged ahead." (Obzory, 1946, page 815: My národ československý).

- 4) "Slovakia in wartime enjoyed prosperity and relatively great freedom. It was, as a matter of fact, a showcase state which the German used for propaganda purposes to show how they treated a good obedient child." (*Obzory*, 1945, page 262).
  - 5) Dr. Vavro šrobár said:

"During the war Slovakia had the best situation on the continent. There were no executions, no concentration camps. There was plenty of bread, food, potatoes. Anyone could purchase a goose, or pork, and any kind of meat was available at relatively cheap prices." (*Eudový denník*, July 19, 1945).

- 6) "We do not deny, either the uplift of religious life or the growth of spiritual and civilizing influence in the country. Under favorable conditions Slovakia was completely free on the religious side." Osvobozený našinec).
- 7) "Even after the breakthrough on the fighting-front the amount of goods was greater in Slovakia than on January 1, 1939." (Dr. Matura v Zat'kovom procese. Národná obroda, September 12, 1946).
- 8) "Frequently in studying conditions in Slovakia one concludes that the average citizen did not have it bad at all, in fact, he was not bad off during the entire war." (*Čas*, December 18, 1946).
- 9) "Economically, Slovakia was in very good shape. Government officials admit this and write about it openly. There were no exceptions, everyone was well off, whether he was a worker, an official or farmer. While the Germans exploited the Czechs, our government officials cleverly arranged to give the Germans a minimum of their national output." (Kanadský Slovák. A letter from Košice, August 6, 1946).

Undoubtedly, these few quotations from various sources indicate that the Slovak Republic was not bad at all. Fereign

newspapers, such as the London Times, wrote in the same vein.

In wartime Beneš propaganda sought to convince the Slovaks of their 'bad plight.' After war Czechs had this to say:

"The years of the independent Slovak state were marked by rapidly increasing prosperity with the result of a high standard of living. This changed considerably after the war.

"It was a period of building, progress and communication, and relative internal freedom, though not definitely democratic, yet it was free of any so-called fascist terror, particularly in the Hitlerian sense of the word.

"While Czech schools were closed, the Slovak university received hundreds of highly qualified and intelligent students year after year. These can now be employed in various positions. Cultural life reached a new high level.

"All this was not the work of the ruling regime—it was a national evolution of a people who seized the opportunity to get ahead. Slovak youth, according to personal testimony, was determined to advance at all costs. Slovak autonomists do not consider themselves to be discredited but rather exonerated for their policies by the events of their time... which proved them to be right in pursuing those policies." (Obzory, "Česi a Slováci", 1946, p. 774).

So these were the so-called 'crimes' of the Slovak Republic! Obviously, a Czech, admitting the facts, must try in every way, however, to discredit the regime of the Slovak Republic. For him, it is only true that it was a natural evolution impelled by a new opportunity. But a people enjoys such an opportunity only in its own state. It is not a crime to seek such an opportunity... it is only a natural evolution.

Furthermore, that the Slovaks themselves might have some merit for their own economic well-being as a consequence of their wise and judicious politics a Czech finds it difficult to admit.

On their side of the ledger, while the Czechs reluctantly admit they made mistakes, they claim these were not malicious. Well, was it not malicious to dismantle Slovak factories? This 'mistake' they attribute not to their government but to the "živnobanka" administration.

At present, finally when all the facts are in and when any objective-minded person must admit that conditions in Slovakia during the war were ideal, we are continually hearing from various quarters that the situation was unnatural, unchristian and immoral, completely wrong from every angle, because conditions were bad everywhere, and that must include Slovakia, it could not have been an exception, and so Czechs generally try to debunk the government of the Slovak Republic.

Dr. Koželuhová (a Czech) after lauding wartime conditions in Slovakia concludes:

"Since in Slovakia much of the national wealth was in the forests, lumber exports were greatly excessive. Actually, we have to note that it will be a long, long time before the exorbitant cutting-down of trees will be replaced by new growth. Although the Germans did not impoverish the Slovaks by demands for food, there was prosperity, but future generations will have to suffer. It is clear that after years of abundance the postwar consequences would result in many lean years." (Obzory, 1945, p. 263).

She was not alone in this view, for another Czech, Engineer J. Rotnagel expressed the same opinion in his book, *česi a Slováci* (Czechs and Slovaks):

"And the Slovaks? Let no one be deceived by the claim of a sounder and better financial status and higher living standards in Slovakia in contrast to Czech lands. The so-called prosperity was brought on by undue exploitation of the country's natural resources, particularly by the harvesting of the luxuriant Slovak forests by the Slovak government." (page 275).

What he is trying to say is that prosperity in Slovakia was at the expense of future generations. The Czechs talk about the exploitation of Slovak forests just like the Venetians of ancient times in Dalmatia and neighboring lands. Never in the history of Slovaks was there such economic exploitation on all sides as occurred under Czech domination in the old Czecho-Slovak Republic. The proof is in the records of the parliament in Prague, especially in the records of various companies operating in eastern Slovakia.

How was this operation effected during the regime of the Slovak Republic? Reference to this was made in Zat'ko's process, and not only as a mere statement but backed up by statistics. An authority on natural resources, Zat'ko reported as follows:

"The Germans established a quota for the Czechs to produce 50% more lumber than normally. In contrast to this, the normal capacity of lumber produced in Slovakia was not even reached so that the Slovak Republic actually saved 15,000,000 cubic metres of wood valued at 3,000,000,000 crowns." (Národná obroda, September 12, 1946).

This, then, is the truth based on facts. Simply stated, this action preserved millions of cubic metres of lumber for future generations. From this, one must conclude that the government was far-sighted, and far better than its predecessors. The government of the Slovak Republic planned and regulated the prosperity of its era while at the same time provided for the future.

Least known and unpublicized is the fact that at the end of the war the Slovak Republic had a surplus of more than a billion crowns, which the Prague government confiscated, spent in less than two years and plunged the country into a deficit of 4 billion crowns by 1947.

A treasure trove of fine lumber estimated in value of more than 3 billion crowns was left intact for future generations by the Slovak Republic. Industrial expansion was greatly augmented, too. The Slovaks had an abundance of food. What more material goods does one need aside from shelter and clothing? And the Slovak Republic provided these vital needs, too, for its people.

After such derogatory statements about so-called exploitation by the Slovak Republic it sounds rather strange to hear a radio broadcast in Bratislava:

"Czecho-Slovakia has a surplus of lumber in the eastern part of the country for extensive export." (Praha, January 8, 1947).

It is easy to manipulate words, sentences and conclusions in an effort to hide the truth, but eventually the truth will uncover the lie, and cold statistics will further confirm what is true.

It would be extremely difficult to find a nation whose officials were so guilty of deceit as those on the Czech side. One of these glaring examples is their shameless attempt to explain away Slovak prosperity.

Exploitation of Slovak forests attributed falsely to the Slovak Republic is now followed by a strange sequel: the official order to cut down no less than five million cubic metres in 1947, and that for export. So, the postwar Czecho-Slovak government is following the example of the Slovak Republic's 'exploitation' by cutting down lumber in Slovakia, not in Czech lands, however.

Every lie or falsehood sooner or later is detected. And so it is in this case. The lie levelled against the Slovak Republic comes to roost in Prague. Factually, the Slovak state was governed wisely and honestly. Such a state only a primitive and stupid people would voluntarily renounce. The Slovak nation has not renounced its right to a self-governing state but denounces every attempt to falsify the genuine record of good government and achievement of its Slovak Republic.

From experience down through the ages that saw the Slovaks survive many regimes, they have come to realize that by far the best, the most beneficial was the regime of the Slovak Republic. No need to hide its imperfections, but what regime is perfect? Nevertheless, there is no comparison between Czecho-Slovakia and the Slovak Republic as far as its benefits go when one looks at the record that is indelibly imprinted on the pages of history.

All of these events lead us to the obvious conclusion, namely, that the Slovaks are not satisfied with the present state of affairs, and that they aspire to renew their own Slovak state. None of the leading Slovak cultural or political leaders joined Beneš when he left the country. In 1939 the Slovak wholeheartedly and unanimously took the oath of allegiance to the Slovak Republic. Why? Because they did not love Czecho-Slovakia.

At the conclusion of the war when President Tiso was persuaded to leave the country thousands of Slovaks, intellectuals as well as average citizens, followed him into exile. Why? Because they wanted to work for the restoration of the Slovak Republic. The people at home are united in spirit with their Slovak countrymen abroad in the struggle to restore their self-governing state at the earliest opportunity. To this they are committed and dedicated as freedom-loving men who aspire to a life of national freedom for their

people who for too long a time have been forced to live in servitude.

Slovaks at home and throughout the entire world are of one mind, namely, that eventually and inevitably their eternal struggle for freedom and statehood must become a reality again. This dream is in keeping with the finest Slovak traditions of the past and a sacred legacy of our forefathers. It is in the spirit of Ľudovít Štúr who, after bitter experience and disappointments, declared:

"We must liberate ourselves once and forever from the unendurable yoke of foreign rule if we are to take our rightful place that belongs to us on the strength of our abilities, and that means we must attain the ultimate goal of self-governing statehood because a nation that is enslaved has its bands bound, its spirit depressed and faces the danger of ultimate extinction." (Slovanstvo a svet budúcnosti).

To engage and negotiate in politics with anyone who is willing to help us was the slogan of the American Slovaks a half century ago.

"We must pursue a political course," wrote Tholt-Vel'-koštiavnický, "that will bring us eventually to our national independence." (*Slovenský denník*, February 27, 1909).

In another article Veľkoštiavnický wrote:

"We Slovaks must have an honorable political program that will permit us to adopt a policy or unite with a nation with which we will be able to cooperate mutually, with positive assurance and a guarantee of our national independence. We must be a fully and independent and self-governing nation because this is according to the natural law, and a principle of an individual entity that belongs to every nation.

"Every nation like every person upon reaching maturity desires to be free, and a nation aspires to have its own individual self-governing state. Thus it is with our Slovak nation, for we do not want to be infants forever, nor dependents or slaves. We are impelled to this not only by the spirit of the age but by nature and every conceivable political experience of the past.

"We Slovaks declare to the whole world that we are

a nation that wants to be free, and therefore, must have its own free self-governing state in Europe."

Our forebears spoke distinctly in this manner and spirit when all they had was the historic fact of the existence of Slovak statehood more than a thousand years ago, and of course, the basis for their claim the universally accepted principle that all nations aspire to independence. We had it a thousand years ago. We lost it because of overwhelming force but we did not surrender the right to be independent. That right belongs to us today and forever.

Hollý, štúr and Tholt-Veľkoštiavnický, and their followers believed this firmly. Should we who saw with our own eyes the happy reality of an independent Slovak state believe less?

Should we after having witnessed what our Slovak state accomplished in six short years willingly bow our heads and place them in the Czech yoke?

"No, never!"

Let us unite with anyone who wants to help us, as Tholt wrote once, and oppose anyone and everyone who is against Slovak statehood.

There are vital material resources that a nation needs but more importantly a nation has need of strong enduring moral values without which a nation cannot exist or long endure.

Foremost among the characteristics that make a nation what it is is national consciousness. Both the Magyars and Czechs concentrated their attacks on this central point. Slovaks who possessed a conviction of their own national identity were recognized as inimical to their plans of assimilating the Slovaks. Accordingly they sought to destroy all self-consciousness by bribery, force and imprisonment.

For all time renegades from the Slovak nation are listed as "mad'aróni" and "čechoslováci." They degraded themselves by abandoning their Slovak nation because of an inferiority complex, and so they became satraps first of Magyar and subsequently of Czech overlords.

Self-consciousness is an acquired virtue and strengthened by one's own conviction that he is his own man, and an individual person who is equal to any man, and he proves it to himself and others by his actions in practical life. He stands proudly on his own two feet, so to speak.

As in the experience of a child taking his first step which requires courage and effort, so it is with a nation taking its first step towards going ahead without any assistance. The Slovaks took their first step in modern times in the Czecho-Slovak Republic, but soon learned to stand and walk with confidence on their own two feet in the Slovak Republic.

Slovak self-consciousness reached such a stage that even erstwhile "Czecho-Slovaks" changed and became convinced of their equality with the Czechs! Quite a transformation. And today they proudly assert they are Slovaks... not "Czechoslovaks", as once upon a time they timidly imagined themselves to be. This new spirit of self-reliance is the direct result of the successful development that led to Slovak statehood in our times.

Czechs returning to Slovakia after the war, or those who meet Slovak visitors in Prague, are made aware immediately that these are not the old type Slovaks but a new generation or race of self-conscious members of the Slovak nation. This self-consciousness of the average Slovak, and of the intellectual as well, causes great consternation in the Czech camp.

A certain 'Moravus' dealing with this natural phenomenon declared this to be absolutely 'insufferable.'

With the exception of communist periodicals the Slovak press unanimously attacked him.

Moravus got a stinging reply in *Sloboda*, October 26, 1948:

"Awareness of the Slovak nation's abilities and possibilities is the source of the current self-consciousness," insufferable, indeed!

*Čas* (Time) replied in kind: "Thank God, Slovakia today is not the Slovakia of yesterday when the country had fewer than five hundred intellectuals."

Národná obroda (National Renewal) added on October 26, 1946:

"There is no resemblance between the Slovak nation that awoke from a long slumber in 1918 and the Slovak nation today."

Where did this self-consciousness emanate from?

To a large degree, from the Slovak Republic. It does not exist today as it did then, but the spirit has survived because we proved to ourselves and the whole world that we could rule our own country better and more efficiently than any alien master... and because the average Slovak received more for his efforts, he became convinced of his ability to stand on his own two feet as a proud individual of the Slovak nation and as a loyal citizen of the Slovak Republic.

Some politicians who formerly did not dare to have an opinion of their own, relying entirely on Prague wrote:

"Slovak affairs can be conducted best right here in Slovakia without interference from Prague, as has been amply demonstrated in recent years.

"Slovakia stands firmly on its own feet and is progressing nicely without needless Czech supervision that may now concentrate on solving problems close to home in Prague itself." (Čas)

Under pressure of this new development even Beneš changed his tune about his familiar theme, "one nation" i.e., only a Czechoslovak nation (sic), when he said in Košice:

"Since 1918 Slovakia has become stronger and more prosperous, and it has advanced culturally, politically and organizationally so that its rights must be respected. That was self-evident to me in 1938 when I proposed decentralization in the republic."

Beneš' statement is not true, however. The Czech president addressed a similar proposal on October 4, 1938, to Tiso but he had it recalled from the post office because he was suddenly forced to resign from the presidency. The fact is that in 1938 Beneš declared: "No Slovak problem exists. Therefore, there is no need for a solution."

Since even Beneš admits Slovakia's maturity and progress, why was it denied a Slovak national council, a board of commissioners and other agencies on the basis of the Košice Agreement?

Let us search for the source of the best qualities of every nation. We shall find clues in the following:

"The intensive and extensive experience of Slovak statehood produced a new Slovak personality whose political spirit and abilities astonished observers who could not help but admire real achievements of the era." (Dr. V. Bušek, Svobodný zítřek, No. 36, 1946).

One Czech finally admits that it was the Slovak Republic that accomplished wonders. Then why judge Slovak politicians for their achievements? Beneš brought them to trial precisely because they were responsible for the rise and growth of Slovak national self-consciousness, because they gave testimony to their own nation of their effective leadership in utilizing their innate talents and skills in establishing independence and statehood.

Beneš no longer can repeat what he once said to Rázus: "You Slovaks have nowhere to go."

The Slovaks do not have to go anywhere. All they have to do and they want to do is to stay in their own historic homeland and manage their own affairs in their national household.

In the eyes of Beneš who attempted to make Slovakia a Czech colony there was no greater crime in all history than that of Tiso and his governmental staff that dared to take off and soar high on their wings like Slovak eagles in the blue sky high above a free land.

"Never again will dictatorship rule the Slovaks, for one learns once and for all from his personal experience," writes *Sloboda*, November 12, 1946.

Quotations of this new popular view were often repeated in the postwar era when Prague seized political control of Slovakia after the war. One heard statements like the following: "We have outgrown our infant clothes, we will not take orders from Praha. We lived without Czechs and we can live without them; we were burned once, never again, etc."

Dr. Kulhánek advised his Czech countrymen to face the facts, reminding them at long last this (Slovak nation) was not a primitive tribe of sheepherders whiling away the hours blowing the fujara (a musical instrument which may be described as a giant cousin of the saxophone), nor a group of migrant tinkers.

"This is a very capable nation comprising seriousminded people of realism. They seek to solve contemporary problems with greater calm and keener perspicacity than we do." (*Svobodný zítřek*, October 4, 1946). Another Czech periodical observed:

"Czechs have to be aware of the great re-birth in Slovakia since 1938, and that there is a great difference between Slovaks of yesterday and today. The Slovaks have matured politically and have grown up culturally, their national self-consciousness has been strengthened and ripened. The great majority of Slovaks, not excluding former 'Hlasist' devotees who preached a Czechoslovak form of national unity, feel they are members of an independent nation, and they will not tolerate either political or cultural overlord-ship, nor economic domination. (Zemedelské listy).

Reacting to these tributes to the Slovak Republic from even hitherto hostile quarters an American Slovak journalist wrote:

"What great miraculous powers of national liberty and independent statehood must have been at work that in less than six years of the regime of the Slovak Republic these transformed many in the former 'Hlasist' Czechoslovak camp into self-conscious Slovak Patriots." (Osadné Hlasy, August 9, 1946).

No political regime in the world ever gave its people as much as the administration of the Slovak Republic gave the Slovak nation. Self-pride, independence, the spirit of conscientious work, national consciousness, as well as the conversion of Czechoslovak factions, those unbelieving Thomases, all this was inspired by the Slovak Republic.

Nevertheless, we are faced with the paradox of all paradoxes, namely, the persecution, imprisonment and execution of the very persons who accomplished all these things. What irony of fate that propagators of noble ideals are now being hounded, tried in court and sentenced to prison and death in the country they served so nobly and so well!

Despite this tragedy enemies of the Slovak nation have lost the fight, for the fanatical movement to absorb the Slovaks in a conglomerate of a "Czechoslovak" people was crushed. This was genocide long before it was labelled as such after the war. Hlinka, Tiso and Sidor and their colleagues won the good fight and saved the Slovak nation in a crisis that saw their domestic enemies, the Hlasists, converted to the cause of Slovak national freedom.

ldeologically, Beneš was defeated. He asserted that he

recognized only a "Czechoslovak" nation—Hlinka triumphed hy declaring he did not recognize such a nation because it never existed.

Today Beneš, the Bolsheviks and their collaborators may condemn, imprison and hang the creators of the Slovak Republic, they may confiscate their properties and seek to erase their names from history, but they will never succeed in stamping out the self-consciousness of the Slovak nation that came to full maturity in the Slovak Republic.

No power in the world can eradicate the aspiration of the Slovak nation for its own free, independent statehood. Attempts to educate a new generation of Slovaks to repudiate the achievements of the brave men and women who created the Slovak state will be in vain, as will be the terroristic methods designed to intimidate the Slovak people into acknowledging that they have lost their will to be free.

Slovak coins with the image of the immortal Slovak president, the banner of the Slovak army, photographs from the Slovak state remain, all reminders of the Slovak Republic. Most important of all, however, is the abiding conviction that we are equals with the civilized and cultured nations of Europe, that we have enough intelligence, that we have a nation that is alert and wide-awake, and particularly that we have a will strong enough to renew our Slovak state at the earliest opportunity.

Clearly and unequivocally we declare again:

The Slovak nation is ready to accept a helping hand from every great power on earth.

Echoes and re-echoes will be heard incessantly throughout Slovakia until the restoration of a free Slovak state. Times have changed and today's situation is not the same as it was when we had our own Slovak Republic.

Unpleasant and unbearable though the truth is to some Czechs of the past, the wise ones admit it must be respected, and they are reconciled to the inevitable germination of a free Slovak state that must come into being again for a self-conscious Slovak nation in the near future.

Such is the destiny of a nation determined to have its own self-governing state.

(A translation by Andrew P i e r from unpublished book of Konštantín Čulen.)

Anthony X. Sutherland, Ph.D.:

# Juraj Fándly: An Introduction to His Life and Work

It is regrettable that in the writings of Western historians on Slavic history little attention has been devoted to the 18th century Slovak writer and nationalist, Juraj Fándly. Yet there was much in Fándly's career to warrant a deeper analysis than has been offered to date. Fándly was not only an important member of the Bernolák school of writers but also the foremost representative of the French Enlightenment in Slovakia and a pioneer in the development of the Slovak national ideology. It is hoped that this short study will serve as an introduction and be a stimulus for a more deeper analysis in the future of this important Slovak intellectual.

There is almost no satisfactory account of Fándly in English. Most Western historians, if they mention Fándly at all, usually discuss him very briefly or in a line or phrase included in a greater description of the Slovak Renaissance. Included among the best works on Fándly are a monograph by Imrich Kotvan published in 1946 and a selection of his writings, Výber z diela, edited by Ján Tibenský in 1954. This anthology, Výber z diela, contains sizable excerpts from Fándly's works as well as having an excellent introduction to his career and writings.

The details on Fándly's life have remained sketchy.¹ Juraj Fándly was born October 21, 1750 in Častá in Western Slovakia to Ján a Mária Fándly.² Following the death of Ján Fándly, Mária Fándly moved her family to Ompitál. There young Juraj began his studies at school. Little has come down to us concerning Fándly's early school years. It was noted that he was a good student but seemed to suffer from poor health, thus forcing him to frequently break off his schooling. In 1771 Juraj Fándly started his theological studies for the Catholic priesthood at the Seminary in Budin, and in 1773 went to complete his training at the Seminary of St. Stephen in Trnava. There in 1776 he was ordained a Catholic priest.

His first assignment as a priest was to Sered' where he remained for three years before being transferred to Lukačovce. In 1780 he was appointed as pastor in Naháč, where he remained for twenty-seven years, from 1780 to 1807. An excellent characterization of Fándly as a pastor was provided in an ecclesiastical report dated September 5, 1782:

He is of tall stature, slim, reddish in the face, strong fingers, strong temperament, a humble spirit, held in great respect among the farmers and foreigners, wears his hair according to local custom, does not smoke, bears no weapons, drinks wine only occasionally, is not given to excursions or farming, performs correctly all his pastoral obligations, says Mass everyday, under his administration no one has died without the sacraments; the church is not in debt, performs his breviary and canonical hours carefully; there is no grounds for him to be removed from office.<sup>3</sup>

In 1807 Fándly departed to Ompitál to rest and recuperate from failing health. There he died March 7, 1811.

Juraj Fándly was a real product of the 18th century, that century of the French Enlightenment and the French Revolution. The writings of Rousseau, Voltaire, and Montesquieu were spread to all parts of Europe bringing new ideas of the supremacy of reason, the equality of nations, and the necessity for church and social reforms, thus resulting in a challenge to the very fabric of feudal society. The Habsburg Empire, being among the most backward in Europe, was fertile soil for the reception of these new progressive concepts.

Several "enlightened" writers emerged in Hungary during this time who transmitted the ideas of the French Enlightenment to Slovak society. They included Adam Kollár, Jozef Ignác Bajza, Samuel Tešedík, Daniel Lehocký, as well as Juraj Fándly.

The French Enlightenment also affected the nature of the rule of the European monarchs. The notion of the "enlightened ruler," one who uses reason and efficiency in his administration became the basis of the reigns of several European rulers. Josef II of Austria, 1780-1790, was perhaps the best example of the "Enlightened Despot." Josef II undertook many reforms to modernize and centralize the empire in order to make it more efficient and to bring it more directly under his rule. Included in these reforms were some church reforms intended to curtail the power

of the church. The number of theologians who could study outside the empire was reduced, the international power of the monasteries was attacked in a attempt to make monastic orders more subservient to local bishops, and finally some 350 monasteries were destroyed, their lands sold or leased out.<sup>4</sup>

Fándly was in basic agreement with these church reforms. He believed that monasteries had become too worldly, and were remnants of medievalism that endangered both the church and society. His first work, Dúwerná zmlúwa mezi mňichom a diáblom o prwnich počátkoch starodáwnich ag o wčulagšich premenách reholňíckich, published in 1789, was a defense of Josef's ecclesiastical reforms. It was written in the form of a humorous, satirical dialogue between a monk, Athanazius and the devil, Titinillus. In it Fándly attacked the decadence of the monasteries, explaining that their great accumulation of wealth had caused their decline.

In the first section of the discussion between the monk and the devil Fándly traced the history of the monastic orders to show how the original intention of their founders to provide an atmosphere for men to live in prayerful solitude had changed.<sup>5</sup> Fándly then listed seven reasons for the deterioration of the cloistered life: the increase learning of the monks, the great number of monks, the increase in the number of mendicant monks, the trickery or roguery of monks, the relaxation of moral standards, the new monastic devotions, and the division of the clergy into monks and friars.6 The great concern for education, Fándly wrote, allowed the more intelligent monks to write books while forcing the others to perform manual work. In addition, he said, the great number of monks forced many to become idlers or beggars, and the division of the clergy into monks and friars created friction in the monasteries. To remedy these problems Fándly recommended a return to more spiritual concerns and a surrendering of all unnecessary wealth.7

The publication of *Dúwerná zmlúwa* was a cause for a great debate among Fándly's contemporaries. Fándly was reprimaded by his ecclesiastical superiors for the book. The General Vicar, Jozef Vilt, in a letter dated August 13, 1789 condemned *Dúwerná zmlúwa*. Jozef Ignác Bajza, using

the pseudonym, Anton Kubovič, published a sharp rebuke on Fándly and the Bernolák movement in a book entitled, Anti-Fándly aneb dúverné Rozmluwáňí medzi svatokaterinským kuchárom Theodolusem Zeleničom a Jurajem Fándli. This attack forced Anton Bernolák to respond with a pamphlet, Toto Maličke Písmo má sa Pánowi Anti-Fándlymu do Geho wlastnich Ruk odewzdať, in defense of Fándly.8

It is not to be concluded that Fándly was a deist or anti-monastic but merely a believer in a more puritanical faith free from any religious emptiness that characterized many monasteries at that time. It is also not to be forgotten that Dúwerná zmlúwa was not only the first book written in the Bernolák's Slovak but remained the classic example of Enlightenment literature in Slovakia.

Fándly did not employ all his energies only to monastic reforms but was actively concerned with the plight of the Slovak peasantry. While at Naháč Fándly was the village doctor, herbalist, as well as priest. There he was able to view first hand the misery of the people. He attributed Slovak poverty in part to the peasants' general ignorance of agricultural technology. To aid the Slovak peasants in their farming Fándly wrote a reference book on agriculture called, *Pil'ní pol'ní a domagší hospodár*. In it Fándly urged the use of the new alternating planting system in preference to the traditional three field system. He gave instructions on the use of fertilizers, showed the need of growing fodder for livestock and tried to show the advantage of potato cultivation recently introduced to Hungary.

Fándly's interest in agriculture was shared by several other writers of his generation including L'udovít Mitterpacher, writer of lectures, *Elementa rei rusticae* and Matej Pankl, author of the agricultural textoook, *Compendium oeconomiae*. These writings coincided with the general efforts of Josef II to upgrade Austrian agriculture. He encouraged the cultivation of new crops such as tobacco, corn, flax, indigo, silk, hemp, and potatoes. Fándly's work in agriculture arose more from a deep concern for the welfare of the Slovak peasantry than from a purely scientific interest.

An important element not to be overlooked in Fándly's writings was his Slovak nationalism. In his works Fándly tried to instill feelings of pride in the Slovak nation, in its

language and history. He wrote in the introduction to Pil'ni Hospodár: "Carefully recall how glorious our Slovak nation was, when in ancient times it was victorious many times over the powerful courageous Romans when they occupied this territory." <sup>12</sup>

With the same national spirit Fándly traced the etymology of the word, "Slav", and found it to come from the word,  $sl\acute{a}va$ , meaning glory or fame, thus indicating the glorious past of the ancient Slovaks. He wrote:

Let us consider a little, from what do we get the name Slovaks? From this praise worthy word  $sl\acute{a}va$ ; from those many and frequent victories over the fearful foreign nations, not only over the Romans, but also over many other enemies which our nation was very frequently in ancient times gloriously victorious, therefore our nation always, everywhere when it drew its weapons was given and attributed with the praiseworthy  $sl\acute{a}va$ . Therefore it has named itself the glorious nation; this is the source of the word for the Slovak nation.<sup>13</sup>

Fándly was credited with making a major contribution to the development of the Slovak language by the writing of Dúwerná zmlúwa in the literary Slovak based on Bernolák's codification of Slovak using the Western dialect. On several occasions Fándly extolled the Slovak language and tried to foster its literary growth. Fándly's hope for a great future for the Slovak language was seen in the preface to his work, Zelinkár. He said: "In a few years the educated world will see that the Slovak language and its written form will always be compared with great praise with the other languages of Europe in their spiritual and secular books." <sup>14</sup>

In 1793 Fándly helped establish the *Slovenské učené* tovarišstvo, an organization centered in Trnava, devoted to the publication of books in the new Bernolák Slovak.<sup>15</sup> For some time Fándly served as the institution's secretary and director of its branch offices in Nitra, Vienna, Banská Bystrica, and other places.

Fándly was also instrumental in reviving the Cyrilo-Methodian tradition in Slovakia. In *Kázne*, published in 1796, he glorified the mission of SS. Cyril and Methodius to the Slovaks. They were interpreted by Fándly as the greatest Slovak apostles who fulfilled the divine command to bring the gospels to all nations, and by firmly establishing the Church in Slovakia made Christianity an integral part of the Slovak national character. In *Kázne* Fándly wrote:

SS. Cyril and Methodius are worthy of this celebration and of this laudable praise for their great apostolic work performed for the salvation of our Slovak nation. Therefore they are for our generation of Slovak men, our laudable and spiritual ancestors, our greatest Slovak apostles. . . . remember that you will hear of the honor and praise for our great patron saints which we Slovaks hold to God the greatest thanks, for our glorious nation has believed and strongly preserved for many hundreds of years to the single saving Catholic truths. Blessed be the eyes of our first Catholic Slovaks who saw our first greatest bishops; blessed be the ears who heard them. 17

Any introduction to Fándly would be incomplete without a few words on his work as a historian. Fándly was the last of the great Slovak historians of the 18th century which included Ján Baltazár Magin, Samuel Timon, Matej Bél, Ján Severíny, Juraj Papánek, Juraj Rohany, Adam Kollár, and Juraj Sklenár. The glorification of the past was for Fándly, along with language and literature, the principle ways of stimulating feelings of national pride. For Fándly history had also a great morally instructive purpose, presenting people with historical figures to imitate lessons to be learned. He wrote:

You are educated with various praiseworthy sciences whose foundations are the natural law, God's given and society's laws; these all show us direction for the good and happy life. But let us enkindle in us a torch by the reading and knowledge of historical events for the deeds of long ago. History will educate people as a mirror of how it was. For a great many learned men have named history's motherly virtues and called it a teacher of a good life. 18

Although all his works contain references to the Slovak past his major historical effort was a history of the Slovaks written in Latin entitled. Compendiata Historia Gentis Slavae. The work, however, was not completely original but a revised edition of a similar history by Juraj Papánek. In this work Fándly traced the history of Great Moravia, relating the exploits of its rulers, its wars and its defeat by the Magyars. 19 The repeated references in the work to Svätopluk, the 9th century Moravian ruler, as "King of the Slovaks", and the identification of Great Moravia as an ancient Slovak state gave further evidence of Fándly's developed national feelings. Fándly shared some relationship to later Slovak nationalists because of his national consciousness and more particularly because of his recognition of the Slovak nation as a separate entity having its own distinct language. It is safe to say that Fándly was a forerunner to the Slovak leaders of the 19th and 20th centuries.

In the final analysis it would have to be argued that Fándly was of extraordinary importance to Slovak history. He was the first true 'Slovak' intellectual and the first Slovak writer who did not represent any exclusive upper class but who wrote for the common people. In his works be combined a Slovak nationalism with a concern over the economic conditions of the Slovak peasants. Throughout his active life Fándly was an advocate of political reform, being especially critical of serfdom which he believed hindered the peasants' economic progress. Marxists historians have correctly labeled Fándly a "progressive" for his condemnation of feudalism and his efforts to awaken the class consciousness of the Slovak peasants.<sup>20</sup> In summary then, Fándly's insight into Slovak problem, his efforts to improve the lot of the common people, and his stiring of the national consciousness have earned him a deserving place among the intellectuals of the Slovak Renaissance.

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Stwrtá Stránka pil'ného domagšého a polneho Hospodára... O Opaternost'i zdrawég, ai o Wilečeňú nezdrawég rožnég Lichwi. Trnava, 1800.

#### 1802

O Uhoroch ai Wčelách Rozmlúwáňi Mezi Uradskima a Richtárom, kesthelskég hospodárskég Školi Naučeňi wikládagícim. W Trnawe, Witlačené u Wáclawa Gelinka privil. Kňihtlačára. 1802. Slowenski Wčelár... W Trnawe, Witlačeni u Wáclawa Gelinka privil.

Kňihtlačára, 1802.

#### 1808

Každodenná Památka Smrti a pobožná Modlitba za Obdržání ščastliwég Smrti. W Trnawe 1808. Witlačená u Wáclawa Gelinka.

#### UNPUBLISHED WORKS

- 1. Pátá Stránka Pil'ného Hospodára o Konoch. W Trnawe 1810.
- 2. šestá Stránka Piľného Hospodára o Owcách.
- 3. Sédemá Stránka O Opatrnosti mladích ai starích Swin...
- Osmá Stránka O Opatrnosťi wšeligakého mladého, ai starého kridelného Hidu...
- 5. Historica Dissertatio De Oppido Ottenthal, Et de ejus Memorabilibus. Conscripta per Adm. Rendum Georgium Fándly, Emeritum Parochum Nahacsiensem, In Patria Ottenthalensi cum Pensione Qviescentem. Additamentum. Folio 61 Promissum. Exponens qvinqve Rebelliones, olim in Hungaria, excitatas. Anno 1810.
- 6. Defensio Germanorum in Hungaria habitantium.

### FOOTNOTES

- The facts on Fándly's life were abstracted from: Dr. Imrich Kotvan, Juraj Fándly (1750-1811), (Trnava: Spolok sv. Vojtecha, 1946), pp. 16-23; and Ján Tibenský (ed.), Juraj Fándly: Výber z diela, (Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1954), pp. 7-9.
- 2) Until 1937 it was believed that Fándly was born in Ompitál. This has now been disproven. Kotvan, p. 17.
- 3) Kotvan, p. 23.

- 4) Výber z diela, "Introduction", pp. 12-18. C. A. Macartney, The Habsburg Empire, 1790-1918 (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), pp. 120-121.
- 5) Výber z diela, "Dúwerná zmlúwa", pp. 103-114.
- 6) Ibid., pp. 115-116.
- 7) Ibid., pp. 178-185.
- 8) Ibid., pp. 23-27. Kotvan, pp. 44-45.
- 9) Výber z diela, "Introduction", p. 19.
- 10) Altogether there are four volumes of *Pil'ní hospodár*. Two have been published and two remain in manuscript form.
- 11) Výber z diela, "Pil'ní hospodár", pp. 258-267.
- 12) Ibid., p. 250.
- 13) Ibid., pp. 250-251.
- 14) Výber z diela, "Zelinkár", p. 332. Also quoted in Július Botto, Slováci: Vývin ich národného povedomia, Vol. I. (Turčiansky Svätý Martin, 1906), p. 36.
- 15) See Jozef Butvin, Slovenské národnozjednocovacie hnutie (1780-1848), (Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1965), pp. 48-62. and Boris Bálent, "K organizácii a vydavateľskej činnosti Slovenského učeného tovarišstva", K počiatkom slovenského národného obrodenia, ed. Ján Tibenský, (Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1964), pp. 189-200.
- 16) Výber z diela, "Kázne", pp. 343-355.
- 17) Ibid., pp. 340-341.
- 18) Výber z diela, "Historia Gentis Slavae", p. 360.
- 19) Ibid., pp. 362-378.
- 20) Výber z diela, "Introduction", pp. 28-56.

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## Slovak Fraternal Organizations

Daniel F. Tanzone

Slovak fraternalism had its origins in the mining and mill towns of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts. It was a product of the need to provide financial assistance to the victims of mine and mill disasters and their dependants; to provide a nucleus for social and religious activity among Slovak immigrants.

Local groups began to develop in the early years of the 1880's and the first Slovak fraternal-benefit society was founded in New York City on March 3, 1883 under the name of the First Hungarian Slovak Fraternal Society. Soon other societies mushroomed in Bridgeport, Connecticut; Hazleton, Pennsylvania; Houtzdale, Pennsylvania; Scranton, Pennsylvania; and in 1885 the St. Stephen Society was established in Cleveland, Ohio, by the late Rev. Stephen Furdek. In 1887 the Society of Prince Rudolph in Bayone, New Jersey was established and a touch of humor accompanied the difficulties of this lodge when it had to change its name after the tragic death of Archduke Rudolph of Habsburg at Mayerling, because the other Slovaks ridiculed the members for having lost their patron.

Although each Slovak society had basically similar objectives it was not until 1890 that a concerted effort was made to organize these various loosely knit societies into a national organization. It can be said that two distinct philosophies developed in these early efforts at unification. One camp was totally nationalistic and desired to maintain the Slovak language, culture and traditions among its members regardless of religious affiliation. The second camp was staunchly religious and although it held similar objectives regarding Slovak language, culture and traditions it added the important element of religion.

Peter P. Rovnianek, known as the stormy petrel because of his bitter objection to Slovak oppression at the hands

of the Austrio-Hungarian monarchy, was the leader of the former camp and on February 15, 1890 he organized a group of Slovak societies with similar beliefs into the National Slovak Society. Similarily the Rev. Stephen Furdek gather representatives of eight Slovak Catholic societies in Cleveland on September 4, 1890 and the First Catholic Slovak Union commonly known as Jednota, which means Union, was established. The objectives of this society were to preserve the Catholic faith, to support fellow members, widows, and orphans in need, to preserve and extend the use of the Slovak language and nationality.

Soon Slovak women organized societies. In 1891 Slovak women organized the Živena Beneticial Society in Pittsburgh. In 1892 Slovak Catholic women under the leadership of Anna Hurban with the assistance of Father Furdek organized the First Catholic Slovak Ladies Union in Cleveland.

Divisions in these societies found the establishment of the Pennsylvania Slovak Catholic Union in 1893 by societies in Pennsylvania. In 1900 a break in the First Catholic Slovak Ladies Union saw the establishment of the Ladies Pennsylvania Slovak Catholic Union. Slovak Byzantine Catholics joined hands with their Ruthenian brothers and organized the Greek Catholic Union, although not a Greek was among them.

The Slovaks' love for gymnastics saw the establishment of Slovak Sokol organizations. In 1896 in the city of Chicago the Slovak Gymnastic Union Sokol was born and promoted gymnastics and athletics among its members. In 1905, because of religious differences a group of 43 members of the National Sokol, as it is known, organized the Slovak Catholic Sokol in the city of Passaic, New Jersey. Although similar in its objectives the Catholic Sokol remained faithful to the Catholic faith and has over the years been among the most outstanding Slovak Catholic societies in the world.

Slovak Lutherans organized the Slovak Evangelical Union in 1893. The Slovak Lutheran women followed with the establishment of the Slovak Evangelical Ladies Union. These two societies merged together in 1962 and are today known as the United Lutheran Brethren. Slovak Calvinists organized the Slovak Calvinistic Union in 1894.

Smaller Slovak organizations developed such as the Slovak Catholic Cadet Union which merged with the First Catholic Slovak Ladies Union; the First Slovak Wreath of the Free Eagle which still exists today and other smaller societies which eventually merged with larger societies.

It was these societies which developed a sense of pride and love for Slovak things among the early immigrants and which today still encourages that goal. Over the years these societies played a monumental role in the life of the Slovaks not only in America but also played an important role in the life of the Slovaks in Slovakia. Hundreds of churches both Catholic and Protestant were established by these societies. Noteworthy is the fact that almost every one of the more than three hundred Slovak Catholic churches in America were established by a local branch of the First Catholic Slovak Union. Millions of dollars have been spent for the Slovak cultural, civic and fraternal activities. In Cleveland where we have the headquarters of the two largest Slovak fraternal societies the First Catholic Slovak Union and the First Catholic Slovak Ladies Association the many churches, schools, convents and religious institutions were established and supported by these societies. One need only look at the list of benefactors of St. Andrew's Abbey of the Slovak Benedictines here and one will see that it was and is the Slovak fraternals which have and are still supporting this great institution.

Today these societies provide not only the opportunity of excellent financial planning but also provide the impetus to belong to a society where one's Slovak culture and heritage is promoted and supported. These societies are as relevant as they were in the mine or mill town of the nineteenth century. These societies are second to none in their benefits. When it comes to insurance you will find that these societies are the best investment for your money. One need only look at the statistics of some of these societies. Did you know that the Jednota has a membership of 100,000 with assets of over thirty-six million dollars? Did you know that the Jednota has given over fifty million dollars in benefits to its membership, or the fact that it has given over eight million dollars to works of charity and cultural endeavors?

Are you aware of the fact that the First Catholic Slovak

Ladies Association assets are approaching fifty-five million dollars with over 95,000 members ranking as the largest ethnic society of women in America? Did you realize that the Slovak Catholic Sokol, with its over 51,000 members and assets of over twenty-five million dollars spends hundreds of thousands of dollars on gymnastic and athletic activities for its members annually?

There is no better way of saying that I am proud to be of Slovak ancestry than to become a member of one of these organizations. I have faith in our Slovak societies because of what they represented in the past and I am optimistic that in the future they will continue to be the valiant supporters of a gallant Slovak nation. The Slovak fraternals have been very much a part of my life and I know that if you show some interest they will enlighten and enliven each one of you to become better Americans, better humanitarians and better Slovaks. The finest thing I can say is that I am a member of the Jednota, the Slovak Catholic Sokol, the Ženská Jednota and the Pennsylvania Slovak Catholic Union.

# Praised-be in the Coal Region

(though a hardcoal fire simmers through the tunnels and shafts of the mine year in and year out,

though on rainy days the culm bank steams and on the stillest, humid days the sulfur-fog chokes,

and the governor investigates by helicopter;

though the slovak papa dies of black lung,

and his widow files for benefits when the congressman comes)

pochválený buď

shamokin creek and furnace run,

the colliery and cranes,

the slag piled mountain-high,

the oldtime coalminers in boots, overalls, helmets with headlamps who shouldered pickaxes and lugged lunchpails.

down before daybreak and up at night, blackfaced and hacking, blessing the waterpumps, the coal cars, the breaker, the sky,

### pochválený buď ježiš kristus

for the fuhrmann-schmidt brewery and polka parties, the "anthratones" at barbershop song and beer-barrel accordian,

for the long, cool chug-a-lug and a quick, hot, footstomping čardáš,

#### ježiš kristus

for christmas eve vilija supper, matka and babička rolling bobáľky (mother, grandma, doughballs), baking koláč, poppy seed or black walnut, boiling saurkraut soup, then breaking the wafers, oblátky, spread with honey,

### praised be work, play, and the family

(though štefan pavelko wheezed himself to coaldust and cyril dorko was buried alive in a cave-in landslide),

praised be jesus christ, now and forever (bittersweet) ježiš kristus

- a ten-year old boy in a ski-jacket and a cossack hat pelts a freight with snowballs from a footbridge over the railroad tracks.
- a coal truck dripping water down its mudflaps fumes up the red ash road
- where the blessed mother, st. joseph, and the infant reside enshrined in the *slovenský* window of run-down company houses

and two old ladies in babushkas huff and hobble arm-in-arm down a hill

### naveky

(naveky)

(naveky)

amen.

Sister M. Pamela Smith, SS.C.M.

### Visible Signs of Slovak Culture in Cleveland, Ohio

By Andrew Pier, O.S.B.

During World War II a popular calling card that was left mysteriously in many parts of the embattled areas was the scribbled message, "Kilroy was here," as if to say, 'Hello there, welcome.'

Throughout the Cleveland area from the inner city to the outlying suburbs there are many indications that the Slovaks were not only there but continue to live, work and pray as integral social units in our variegated municipal society that has drawn human recruits from as many as fifty countries from all over the world.

Slovakia, for centuries a royal province in the conglomerate kingdom of Hungary, then incorporated in Czecho-Slovakia after World War I, Slovak Republic before and during World War II, and re-incorporated arbitrarily after the second World War inside Czecho-Slovakia again, has given the United States close to a million of her people who migrated to the new world in the past hundred years.

Today in greater Cleveland it is conservatively estimated that there are at least 80,000 American citizens who trace their national origin to the Slovak nation that numbers approximately five million in its historic homeland, and an equal or even greater number of countrymen and their descendants around the globe.

Signs that Slovaks settled in the Cleveland metropolis are many. Foremost among these are the church edifices and schools which they themselves built, maintained and staffed without benefit of church or state aid. Undoubtedly, early Slovaks deserve fully to be recognized and registered among most enterprising Americans of all time.

The first and foremost indications of the presence of the Slovaks are their churches where they not only worshipped but gathered socially in adjoining halls, and where they built parochial schools for their children's education. St. Martin and St. Ladislaus, no longer existing, were the first religious and social and cultural centers. There remain St. Wendelin's and Our Lady of Mercy on the west side, SS. Cyril and Methodius in Lakewood, St. Andrew's, Nativity and St. Benedict's on the east side, as well as several Lutheran parishes both in Cleveland and Lakewood.

Around these parochial institutions various societies were organized, clubs were formed and newspapers began to be published.

An assorted group of societies in the early 1890's was the nucleus for Father Stephen Furdek to establish the First Catholic Slovak Union (Jednota) which was destined to become a 100,000-member fraternal organization to be followed soon by a sister fraternal society, the First Catholic Slovak Ladies Union of which Father Furdek was co-founder with Mrs. Anna Hurban. Central headquarters of both fraternals (each with a membership of a hundred thousand) are still here in Cleveland.

In 1907 Father Furdek and his associates founded the Slovak League of America. A number of smaller organizations, such as the Cleveland Jednota and the Slovak Catholic Cadet Union, sprang up, but in recent years these were absorbed by larger organizations. Both the Slovak Catholic Sokol and the Slovak Sokol, though not originating here, and the National Slovak Society have substantial membership in the Cleveland area, also Ladies Pennsylvania Slovak Catholic Union, the Živena and the Pennsylvania Slovak Catholic Union.

Nationwide influence of the Slovaks in Cleveland was highlighted by the issuance of the Cleveland Agreement in 1915 (which has been publicized by the famous Theodore Andrica of the Cleveland Press). The document outlined the democratic framework for a self-governing Slovak national state in central Europe. This was later revised and became the basis of the ill-starred Pittsburgh Pact in 1918 shamelessly repudiated by its most famous signer, Thomas G. Masaryk.

A number of Slovak newspapers and periodicals were

published here at one time or another, namely, the *Cleveland Hlas* (Voice) edited by Ján Pankuch, Sr., Father Liščinský's *Kritika* (purchased by Michal Bosák in 1920 and re-named *Slovenská Obrana* in Scranton, Penna.), and the *Slovenské Noviny*, edited by a staff of three at St. Andrew's Abbey: by Dr. František Hrušovský, Ph.D., Karol Strmeň and Rev. Andrew Pier, O.S.B. from 1949 to 1959, the *Ave Maria* monthly published since 1929 by the Slovak Benedictines is still being published and has a world-wide circulation. John C. Cieker, editor of the *Zivena* monthly magazine lives in Parma.

On the air waves for the past forty years Slovak broadcasts have been heard weekly or daily on the following programs:

The Cleveland Slovak radio club's Slovak Hour on Stations WADC and WERE-AM and WZAK-FM, Joseph Paleš' Slovak Hour on Stations WDOK and WXEN-FM, Alex Mikula on Station WZAK-FM, Michael Beňo on WXEN-FM with Viktor Nesnadný. John J. Biro and J. J. Koscak are currently the announcers on Station WERE's Slovak Hour. In the past Ján Majzler and Kolman Lajčák were pioneer announcers, then Judge Stephen A. Zona and Vladimír Mlynek.

Politically, the Slovaks have had the following in various offices in public life: Judge George Tenesy and Judge Stephen A. Zona, State Representatives John Smolka, Stephen A. Zona, George E. Fedor, Andrew C. Putka, Jerome Stano, Mayors Stephen A. Zona and John Petruska in Parma, Assistant County Prosecutors: Attorneys Julius Badzik, John Kulka, John Urbancik and John Leonard, Stephen Suhajcik, Mary Sotak, Richard Harmondy in City Council, City Law Director George E. Fedor in Lakewood, Attorneys Andrew Sarisky, Andrew C. Putka and William Petro in the Mayor's cabinet at City Hall, Stephen Suhajcik, Commissioner of fiscal control in the Cleveland Water Department, Andrew G. Putka, sports' commissioner in the city.

George Szell, famed conductor of the Cleveland Orchestra, was of Slovak origin on his mother's side, as is Paul Newman, cinema star, whose mother was Slovak, too. Sammy Kaye comes from a well known Slovak family in Lakewood, Ohio. Opera Singer Rudolf Petrák appeared in a special concert in the Public Auditorium here in May, 1952. Two Slovak composers, Orságh and Francisci, lived here during the World War I era.

Various Slovak clubs that were active at one time were: Bratislavský krúžok, Trenčiansky klub, Oravský klub (now the Cleveland Slovak Social Club and still active), also such active clubs as the American Slovak Zemplín Club, the General Milan R. Štefánik Dramatic Circle, the Slovak Dramatic Society, the Vansová Literary Guild, the Lakewood Slovak Civic Club and the Cleveland Slovak Civic Club.

John Rozboril was director of a popular marching band at St. Ladislaus parish in the World War I era and Ray Zamiška organized the well known Post 381 St. Benedict's military band after World War II.

Popular orchestras that circulated in the Slovak community were: Sedlak's, Golden's, Beno's and Pales' orchestras, and now still active are Kopcho's Cavaliers and the Pastirik Combo Five, both of which specialize in Slovak folk music.

George Lukáč, Sr. was a typical representative of Church organists who not only played liturgical music but trained singing groups through the years, and often produced plays and musicals. His son, Matthew, has been the organist and choir director at St. John's Cathedral for the past 30 years.

Visits from abroad by dignitaries were the following: Msgr. Andrej Hlinka in 1926, the Matica Slovenská (Slovak Institute) from Turčiansky Sv. Martin in Slovakia in 1935 and the Spolok sv. Vojtecha delegation in 1937 (with Dr. Joseph Tiso as a member).

Police Chief George Matowič of Nativity parish was a highly respected member of the Cleveland Police Department for more than 40 years.

Johnny Riško, Cleveland's "Baker Boy" was a perennial contender for the heavyweight boxing crown in the 1920's and early 1930's.

In art the best known was Steve šarišký of the Cleveland Institute of Art and George Krišpinský, a former art instructor at Benedictine High School.

Photography has an expert in the person of Tibor Gašparík who is the chief photographer in the municipal photo laboratory at City Hall.

Outstanding in the field of Slovak literature are two eminent Slovak poets and authors: Rev. Mikuláš šprinc, professor of Modern Languages at Borromeo College in Wickliffe, Ohio and Dr. Karol Strmeň, Ph.D., professor of French, Italian and Latin at Cleveland State University.

Successful Slovak industrialists are the following machine-shop owners: Wendell Šarmír and Sons, Michael Olle and Sons, Wendell Lorence and Son and the Bobinchuk Father and Sons Company.

Travel agencies under Slovak management are: John Olds' Atlas, Andrew Hudak's Adventure International, Groger's Travel Service (Groger and Friedman), and Lihani-Nemecek Travel Bureau.

Financial Institutions founded and managed by Slovaks are: State Savings (Joseph Sotak, Sr. and Sons, also Mrs. Anna Sotak), formerly Tatra Savings, and Home Federal Savings in Lakewood Ohio (formerly Orol Savings founded by Martin Slimák and associates).

On the cultural side, there is the Slovak Institute and its library at St. Andrew's Abbey. The Slovak Institute was founded by Abbot Theodore Kojiš, O.S.B. who appointed as its first director Dr. Francis Hrušovský, author of the first history of Slovakia, in 1952.

Benedictine High School, founded in 1927, staffed and administered by the Slovak Benedictine Fathers of St. Andrew's Abbey, is perhaps the best known of Slovak sponsored educational institutions in the country. Its counterpart, the Lumen Cordium High School for girls, is administered and staffed by the Slovak Vincentian Sisters in Bedford, Ohio. They also have charge of the well known Slovak shrine there, Our Lady of Levoča.

Under the sponsorship of the Cleveland Press and

directed by Theodore Andrica (the well known nationality news editor for the daily over a period of forty years) a series of festival-pageants were produced annually. In the first years the Slovaks appeared with a large group under the direction of Dr. Francis Hrušovský, Ph.D. The Štefánik Dramatic Circle also participated.

Among the most noteworthy books emanating from Cleveland directly were: 1) Poems by M. Šprinc, 2) Poems by K. Strmeň, 3) The History of Slovak Religious Orders in the U.S. by Dr. Francis Hrušovský, Ph.D., 4) Slovak Christmas by Jozef Ďuriš, 5) Two works on ancient Slovak art and architecture by Dr. Jozef Cincík, Ph.D., 6) A small volume on childhood in a Slovak family in Pennsylvania by A. V. Pier, O.S.B. Undoubtedly the most important of these publications are Dr. Hrušovský's history of the Slovak religious orders in the U.S., Dr. Strmeň's anthology of world literature in the Slovak language and Mr. Ďuriš' Slovak Christmas (in English).

Most popular of the Slovak productions in Cleveland has been the Slovak Cook Book published by the First Catholic Slovak Ladies Association. The book is in its 17th edition.

Not far behind in nationwide popularity among the Slovaks of America is the map of Slovakia which was originally drawn up with meticulous and scientific care by Dr. Francis Hrušovský, Ph.D. and Engineer Kalocsay at the Slovak Institute more than twenty years ago. The map which shows approximately 3,500 Slovak towns, villages, etc. has been in increasing demand as more and more people visit Slovakia each year. The map is in its third edition.

The Slovak Institute sponsored a special cultural exhibit under the auspices of the Slovak League of America at the Benedictine High School in 1957 under the co-chairmanship of Konštantín čulen and Dr. Jozef Cincík, Ph.D.

A three-day Slovak Book Exhibit at the Benedictine High School gym in the early 1960's was sponsored by the Slovak Institute. It was the first Nationality Book Fair in the history of Cleveland.

Chief landmarks in Cleveland as unmistakable monu-

ments of Slovak endeavor are: 1) The bronze statue of General Milan R. Štefánik, erected in Wade Park in 1924 under the sponsorship of the Slovak League of America and associated Slovak societies in Cleveland. The cost was \$25,000, and the sculptor was Frico Motoška from Slovakia.

2) The Slovak Cultural Garden, one of a score of nationality garden centers in Rockefeller Park. Peter Mokris and his wife, as well as Msgr. Francis Dubosh, were instrumental in establishing this Slovak link in the chain of gardens by the Cleveland Cultural Garden Federation. Mrs. Tillie Bačik is currently the president of the Slovak Cultural Garden Association.

Villa Sancta Anna is a home for the aged in Beachwood under the management of the First Catholic Slovak Ladies Association.

Slovak historic shrines that trace their origin to Slovakia where they have a history that goes back for centuries have their counterparts in Cleveland. The best known is the unique Our Lady of Levoča pilgrimage site in Bedford, Ohio. Little known here but equally famous are the Mother of Sorrows shrine from šaštín and the Mother and Child Mariatál statue enshrined in St. Benedict's Church.

Proposing a list of leading personalities in Slovak life in Cleveland during the past hundred years is risky business, but one must begin somewhere, and so I submit the following to be enrolled in the Slovak Hall of Fame: Štefan Furdek, Matthew Benko, Matthew Gruss, John Liščinský, John Pankuch, Sr., Johnny Riško, George Szell, Mrs. Anna Hurban, John Sabol, Mrs. Anna Sotak, Gregory Vaniščák, Mother M. Berchmans, V.S.C., Martin Slimak, Joseph Dubnička, Paschal Kavulic, Susan Matuschak, John Rozboril, Philip A. Hrobak, Dr. Francis Hrušovský, Ph.D., and Msgr. Francis Dubosh. There are undoubtedly more who can be added to the group of our eminent Slovak leaders in various fields. Those who are still active have not been submitted as candidates for this honor.

Antonia Mazánová:

### Slovak Piano Composition

(A BRIEF SURVEY)

Conditions in 19th century Slovakia were so repressive, so debilitating to the spirit, that only under menacing hardships could the Slovaks develop their music on a national scale. The leadership concentrated on the nation's struggle for liberation from the Magyars. All its efforts and energies were directed toward Slovak national and cultural independence. The incipient cultivation of Slovak national art cut across the injustice of the Slovak position, and music, too, actively entered the fray.

Slovak music and its origins cannot be evaluated from the perspective of modern musical art. While urban artistic culture at that period was comparatively highly developed in Slovakia, it represented cosmopolitan, not Slovak art. Therefore, the movement for authentic Slovak revival kept aloof from it and concentrated its cultural and artistic activity within certain cities like Turčiansky Sv. Martin, Banská Bystrica, Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš, Dolný Kubín and several others, which likewise became important centers of patriotic and promotional movements. Music and song were completely at the service of national ideologies and struggles. Music no less than the other arts was expected to spark national consciousness and keep patriotism alive.

Slovakia in that period possessed neither the means nor the conditions required for the cultivation of artistic music; consequently the character of its over-all musical life remained amateurish. Musical enthusiasts who happened to flourish were dilettantes devoid of professional training and only by way of exception did any of them attain artistic-esthetic renown in competent circles.

Folk creativity played a significant role in the growth and quality of Slovak national music. From the age of enlightenment it served as a powerful source of inspiration for artistic composition, chiefly under the influence of Romanticism, from which the entire Slovak national art evolved. A Slovak in the 19th century would have recognized

in folk art (folksong) the most authentic expression of the national spirit, the personification of the nation's immortality and sole source of resistance in its struggle for self-identity. Eventually, toward the close of the 19th century, this trend resulted in conservatism and became a deterrent to fresh views in folk music and hampered any effort to raise the artistic standard of Slovak music.

The earliest collections of folksongs were the basis from which piano compositions evolved. These consisted of simple arrangements of a primitive nature. In 1830 Martin Sucháň arranged 12 songs from Šafárik's collection and in 1837 Ladislav Füredy composed piano arrangements for 25 pieces from Kollár's collection of patriotic songs.

Toward the end of the 18th and on into the 19th century new musical creations appeared, combining Magyar elements with Slovak folksongs, resulting in the so-called neo-Hungarian song. The neo-Hungarian style, evident principally in the dance forms, also partly influenced emerging Slovak musical compositions in Slovak musical centers, as exemplified in the piano compositions of M. Godra, well-known songs like *Matthew's Musing*, *Svihrovská*, and gypsy traces in M. Laciak's and M. Francisci's arrangements of folksongs. In the 1870's a counter influence arose against the gypsy influence in Slovak folksongs. The leading protagonist in the effort to offset foreign influence in music was the puristic oriented Milan Lichard.

Early composers were prolific in their works for the piano. Paul Gerengay (1825-95) (Dance music: Recollection of Sitno) and Maximilian Hudec (1836-1911) (Hurban March, Marina Quadrille) made a beginning. The most popular were the quadrilles, mazurkas, polkas, waltzes, etc. (Emigrant, by A. Krčméry; Quadrille of St. Martin, by Bella, Ladonka, by Laciak, a quartet, Tatra Flowers, by Boldiš, and others). To this group belongs Michael Laciak (1826-1901) who, besides the piano variations for Our Times also attempted in his Instruction to standardize Slovak musical terminology. A. Horislav Škultéty was a most productive composer. He composed about 6 stylistic dances for the piano. In this period Ľudovít Vansa (1835-73) received a thorough musical education and became a creative composer. For his own immediate needs and to his great personal satisfaction he produced Wreaths of Folksongs

for the piano. Similar aspirations were achieved by Štefan Fajnor (1844-1909) one of the most accomplished composers of a renaissance era. Originally he composed chamber music and was considerably influenced by the neo-Hungarian style, than finally turned to Slovak melodies in his *Variations* for piano and *Fantasia* of Slovak Folksongs.

Vlastimír Meličko (1893-1946) the son of a musical family of the renowned Ján Meličko, already graced with a technical musical training, became a highly talented composer. He arranged dances for the piano and produced *Slovak Rhapsody* and *Fantasia*, based on Slovak folksongs.

Associated with the activities of the Slovak Society in Budapest is the name of Ľudovít Izák (Miloš Lihovecký, 1862-1927) composer of a wide variety of works. For the piano he wrote the popular polka *Anica* and piano variations on the folksong *Tečie voda*, *tečie*. Another member of the Slovak Society was Milan Lichard (1853-1935). He obtained his specialized musical training at the Academy in Budapest. Noteworthy on his extensive list of compositions are his short piano pieces and two-piano rhapsodies, which in reality are outstanding collections of songs.

Two other piano composers who lived and composed outside of Slovakia must be mentioned. Holding first place was Miloš Francisci, a dentist (1854-1926). He was active in the United States and besides choruses, he wrote for piano paraphrases of folksongs, entitled *Trávnice* (two volumes of 100 songs each) and a *Fantasia* on Slovak songs for two pianos. Vladimír G. Šaško (1875-1960) a piano virtuoso, also emigrated to the United States. He studied at the Academy of Music in Budapest and taught at the Chicago Musical College. He is the creator of many Slovak compositions: rhapsodies, *Fantasia*, based on Slovak folksongs and variations. Piano compositions and other unnamed works of these two composers were instrumental in making an impact on Slovak national consciousness in the United States.

To this generation of Slovak creative artists, all of them composers in the Slovak national tradition, we further assign, Ján Levoslav Bella, Mikuláš Moyzes, Viliam Figuš-Bystrý and Mikuláš Schneider-Trnavský. The initial efforts of this generation of composers sparked a national revival of native Slovak art, which also embraced music in its

patriotic-awakening, informative and world-wide roles. These composers, by contrast with the former generation, already possessed all the marks of a creative artistic individuality. Their compositions continued to show the influence of the former esthetic revival based on the role of the folksong, which extended into the 1920's and 1940's, when a new generation of composers with modern artistic styles was emerging.

One of the first musicians with a European outlook was Ján Levoslav Bella (1843-1936), the dean of Slovak composers, one of the founders of Slovak national musical culture. Self-educated in playing the piano, he did not indulge in piano composition in the later years of his mature mastery. His four-movement Sonata in B Minor, which to this day appears on programs, represents a work of perennial merit in music literature. Another outstanding composition is his fragmentary Sonata in C Minor, from the elaborate first movement of which has been constructed a Beethoven allegro and an impressively beautiful adagio. Minor works include: Variations for the song Pri Prešporku and Leti roj, as well as a Sonatina in E Minor, all of which exemplify the music standard of his contemporaries.

An enthusiastic admirer and promoter of Slovak folksongs, Viliam Figuš-Bystrý (1875-1937) directed his activity almost exclusively to using folksongs in classical music. Together with Milan Lichard and Stefan Fajnor, he dominated the so-called renaissance period of Slovak music, in which the composers for the most part were self-trained. The basic design of Figus's creations is derived from Slovak folksong arrangements. His piano compositions include One Thousand Slovak Folksongs, Flowers of the Field, a collection written for children (106 songs in simple arrangement for the piano), Dances, and a march Pages from an Album, Multicolored Leaves (10 compositions) Musical Miniatures (12 compositions). Probably the most extensive of his piano compositions is the four-part Slovak Sonata in the dorian mode, based on themes of Slovak folksongs. In his earlier years Figuš also composed practical piano music in chamber style (polkas, marches, etc.). The overture for his opera Detvan has been arranged for four hands.

One of the pioneers of the national realistic trend in

Slovak music was Mikuláš Moyzes (1872-1944). The bulk of his compositions gravitated toward orchestral music. Most of his piano compositions he eventually transposed to orchestral arrangements. His best known works are the three-movement *Sonatina* and a series of 12 piano compositions, *To our Youth*. His remaining piano works consist of short forms like mazurkas, polonaises, preludes, impromptus, arabesques, meditations, etc. The inspirational basis for his entire repertoire is the Slovak folksong, from which he selected a typical Slovak melodic theme in order to develop an independent creation. Moyzes originated the ballad song with its deep realistic picturesqueness.

Following Bella, the most impressive member of the older generation of composers was Mikuláš Schneider-Trnavský (1881-1959) a pioneer in the trend toward realism in Slovak national music and a friend of Zoltán Kodaly. The strong point in his creativeness was artistic variation in Slovak folksongs and classical song form composition comparable to the motifs in the style of Schubert and Mendelssohn.

Schneider-Trnavský was the first to develop the recitative-rhapsodic type of Slovak melody. Because of the wealth of his compositions in this category, his piano works are not extensive. His Opus 5 is a *Brief Waltz* (1898) and his popular instructive *Slovak Sonatina* is well-known and often concertized. Later appeared his *Variation Line of Compositions* (1944). The musical philosophy of M. Schneider-Trnavský in all his creative effort stems from the Slovak folksong. His style and tools of expression are Post-Romantic.

To this creative quartet of Slovak musicians (from the standpoint of age and style) one must add the names of Frico Kafenda and Alexander Albrecht. As composers they were not specifically aligned with the effort to promote Slovak national music, but they nevertheless made a valuable contribution to the advancement of Slovak musical art. And although they belonged to the Romantic school of composers, they formed a logical link in the historical development of Slovak music and provided an effective transition from the dilettante culture of the previous century to the Slovak avantgarde and indeed paved the way for it.

The character of Frico Kafenda's creations (1883-1965) was decisively influenced by his training in Leipzig, where conservative traditions merged with the Post-Romantic school. Among his teachers were Robert Teich-Müller (piano), Stefan Krehl and Heinrich Zöllner (composition), Arthur Nikisch (conducting). He also attended lectures by Herrmann Kretschmar and Hugh Riemann. Kafenda's compositions frequently exhibit a subjective intimate character. The style of his music is marked by strict harmony and proficient contrapuntal writing. The core of his works comprises chamber, song-like, and instrumental compositions. His piano works consist of A Piano Suite in the ancient modes, Three Piano Compositions, and Variations and Fugues.

Alexander Albrecht (1885-1958) can be described as the type of composer-synthesist, who radiates a variety of influences. He was an intimate friend of Bartok. He studied at the Conservatory of Budapest and his teachers were István Thoman (piano), Hans Kössler (composition), and F. Szandtner (conducting). Hindemith's influence led him to combine classicism with modern elements of expression. His musical thought was expressed chiefly in lyrics, in the tender grazioso and the playful scherzo. Among his distinguished piano compositions, the following are outstanding: Scherzo in F Major (duet) (1899), Sonata in F Major. Scherzo (1907), (duet), Aphorisms, New Year Greeting, Moods (duet), Wild Rose Suite, (duet), Sonatina in three movements as a duet, humoresque (Excursion in a Thunderstorm). Twelve short compositions (Success to Music, Little Johnny, In the Distance, Shepherd Dance, Joyful Awakening, Wedding Feast of the Crickets, In a Gay Room, Beginner in Dancing, Perfect Dancer, Dusk, Night, Going to Work in the Morning). His final composition is an instructive work, entitled Ten Duets, based on song themes and recitations from Ján Krasko's collection.

After 1918 the newly evolved Slovak music style encountered many difficult challenges: to create a firm material basis for a national musical life and to establish a strong organizational position in competition with a fully developed appreciation of foreign music, which had found a ready response in the musical life of Slovakia.

The spirit of competition generated much activity, cen-

tered in new musically-cultural institutions, organizations and music schools. In these years, as it were in the shadow of the previously mentioned composers, there indeed arose a group of musicians, who adhered to ancient traditions, but their productions lacked any distinguishable unity.

Renowned at this time was Dezider Lauko (1872-1942) whose piano compositions can be compared with Liszt's in their brilliance and salon presentation. For the piano he wrote Slovak Moods, Piano Etudes for Children, Humoresques, three Valse Scherzandos, Rhapsody in Slovak Meadows, duets for Slovak Dances, and others.

Ľudmila Križková-Lehotská (1863-1945), the first Slovak woman composer, in addition to various piano works, directed her talent to composing for children.

Angela Cziczková (1888-1973) specialized in pedagogical elements of music instruction as well as in composition. Her works consist of more than 100 compositions (*Unisono* with 54 exercises, *Study in Octaves, Rhythmic Exercises with Variations, Technique in Trills, A Study in Chromatics, Preparing to Play Tremolo.* In addition she wrote 48 compositions, *Youth, 16 Short Preludes* for piano. From among her classical selections are *Twelve Sonatas, Slavic Fantasy, Prelude in A Flat Major*, and *Nine Preludes* for piano.

An individualistic pattern was folloved by Frano Dostálik (1896-1944). His music portrays modern expression and shows some attempt at experimentation. Besides shorter forms for the piano, he wrote *Detvan Sonatina* which he later arranged as a piano duet.

To this group of composers belong many others who flourished in the years before and after World War I. Their thought and inspiration sprang from a cultural climate where struggle for an independent national musical art predominated; or it was derived from the uncertain period of new social-cultural conditions during the first Republic, when new ideas of national musical culture among the younger generation clashed with the older music. Some of these composers achieved only amateur status; for others again the unfavorable conditions of Slovak cultural life in that period precluded any advancement even with specialized musical training.

One of the most productive composers in this group (he has about 260 works to his credit) is Jozef Rosinský

(1897-1973). He obtained his education in Turin and in Rome (law); in Nice he studied piano and organ. His rich productivity comprises all genres. A listing of his piano works must include the following noteworthy selections: Mazurka in A Minor, Children's March, Trenčín Bells, Fantasia alla Zingara, Prelude on Slovak Motifs, Plastic Pictures, Scherzo (duet), Slovak Gleanings, Ten Short Compositions, First Sonata, Second Sonata, Sonata for piano or harmonium, Echoes of Enchanted Nitra, and Slovak Concert Fantasia for piano and orchestra.

Ladislav Stanček (1898) is a composer of the same calibre. His vast productivity was directed almost exclusively to program music. In Brno he studied organ under Tregler, composition under V. Petrželka and O. Chlubna and conducting under F. Neumann. Among his most popular piano compositions are: *Child's Suite*, *Variations* on an original theme and a collection entitled *From Life*.

Representative of the culturally-enlightened and popular composition, anchored in the great traditions of the nationally-revived chorus and group singing in Slovakia, is Ján Valašťan Dolinský (1892-1965). In the area of piano composition he left short forms: Complaint, Remembrance of May, Minuets in G Major and E Flat Major, Waltz in A Minor, Page From an Album, and Valse Triste.

The works of Ján Krasko-Zápotocký (1893-1968) fall into the same category. He, too, was noted as an enlightened leader in the field of music instruction. Among his works are sonatinas and patriotic songs issued under the title, *Echoes of Freedom*.

Ján Móry (1897) belongs to quite another class of composers. He dealt principally with operettic, popular, and dance music. For the piano he prepared instructional works for children, several duets and a collection entitled *Children Sing and Play*.

The composers of yet another school react sensitively to the contemporary, employing methods—modern, technical, and expressive. Their common characteristic is a higher artistic and idealistic standard, without, however, a uniform productivity. An outstanding figure is Štefan Ladislav Németh-Šamorínsky (1896), a typical representative of Bratislava's musical life. In thought and artistry he belongs to the progressive Magyar musical culture as

represented in Bratislava by Béla Bartok and Alexander Albrecht. He studied piano, organ, and composition at the Academy of Music in Budapest and later attended the Graduate School of Franz Schmidt in Vienna. He can claim a valuable collection of piano works. He arranged 20 Slovak folksongs for piano under the title, For Youth. He wrote a very effective Slovak Rhapsody and Improvisation on a Slovak folksong. Other significant works include: Meditation on Paganini's Theme, a transcription of Beethoven's Romance in D Major for violin, Intermezzo for piano, Sonata with three movements, containing valuable content (Toccata and Fugue) Piano Concerto, and Transcription of Liszt's Prelude and Fugue on Bach's name for two pianos.

A composer of an earlier generation with extensive production in music theory, writing, and pedagogy was Ján Fišer-Kvetoň (1896-1963). He studied composition and conducting at the Prague Conservatory under K. B. Jirák and J. B. Förster. In composition he reached out into diverse styles. In 1928 he produced *Sonata in F Minor* for piano and the best-loved compositions are his two-piano *Suites for Youth*.

A distinctive role in Slovak musical life and composition was played by Michael Vilec (1902), who was associated in the early years of his creativity with Eastern Slovakia. His compositions reflect the influence of his teacher Zoltán Kodaly and are marked by impressionism. At first he had held himself aloof from the compositional efforts of his generation. His works are noted for their expressive folk elements, among which must be mentioned Bagatelles for piano, Ballade for two pianos, Sonata for piano, Rondo, Three Sonatinas, two series of duets From the Banks of the Danube, Conversation at the Piano, Two-Tone Inventions, Eight Studies on the Development of Interpretive Elements and Fantasia on the waltzes of Franz Schubert: Schubertiada for piano and orchestra. Together with Mikuláš Moyzes, he wrote a significant two-volume School of Piano.

The first third of the century saw the emergence of a young generation of Slovak composers with a new program and new ideals and goals: to create a style of music that would be contemporary, modern, deeply realistic and Slovak. These composers were determined to put an end to provincialism and dilettantism and at long last to incorpo-

rate the culture of a highly talented Slovak nation into the great orchestra of European music. A Golden Age of musical composition was about to dawn throughout the world and Slovak piano creativity would play a responsible role in it.

Another composer of contemporary music is Alexander Movzes (1906). He obtained his musical training at the Prague Conservatory under the direction of such teachers as Otakar Sin and Rudolf Karel (composition), Otakar Ostrčil (conducting), and B. A. Wiedermann (organ). Moyzes is noted for his program music with its polished compositional technique, which combines classical and Post-Romantic principles with impulses of impressionism. In addition to his creative works, Moyzes actively promoted a new style of Slovak music by means of articles, critical essays, and reviews, in which he condemned in no uncertain terms both dilettantism and conservatism in Slovak musical life. In his capacity as music instructor he educated an entire generation of composers, who to this day occupy foremost positions in Slovak musical circles. (Holoubek, Jurovský, Kardoš, Očenáš, Frešo and several others).

Moyzes' creative works include basic instrumental and vocal genres. His principal compositions for the piano are: Sonata in E Minor (a transcription of Seven Compositions—1942) which has been rated as one of the best Slovak piano compositions. Others are: Divertimento (1930), Fox-Etude and Improptu (1935), Highwayman's Rhapsody (1957). He also wrote Jazz Sonata (1932) for two pianos.

Eugen Suchoň (1908) shares with Moyzes the glory of initiating the Golden Age of Slovak musical art. He is at once its creator, its promoter, and its splendid flowering. He studied at the Academy of Music and Drama in Bratislova under the direction of Frico Kafenda and Jozef Vincourek. After graduation he continued his studies under Vitezoslav Novák at the Graduate School in Prague.

Suchoň's art is completely original. It matured under the impact of Slovak folk melodies combined with modern techniques. The blending of melody, harmony, rhythm and form characterizes Suchoň's music and gives it its national character. Omitting his earlier compositions, (1923-28), a list of his best known works includes the following: *Short Suite with Passacaglia* (1931), *Ballade Suite* (1936), which is a standard calling card among elite Slovak pianists;

Metamorphosis Suites (1953), which is a compendium of modern piano tunes with effective transition and harmonious techniques; Pictures from Slovakia, six series of piano compositions from 1956-1957; and a newer Rhapsodic Suite for piano and orchestra (1968). In 1969 he contributed Kaleidoscope (Evolution of Harmony) in which individual numbers are a succession of delicate musical miniatures.

Ján Cikker (1911), pioneer of contemporary national opera, a celebrity known for his irrepressible vitality and vibrant energy, yet not without meditative depth, also belongs to the contemporary scene.

He studied composition at the Prague Conservatory under Jaroslav Krička, organ under B. A. Wiedermann, and conducting under Pavel Dedeček. At the Graduate School he was the student of Vitezoslav Novák and pursued conducting under Felix Weingartner.

Cikker opened wide the concentrated art of folksong and dance and developed it into classical, highly spontaneous forms. He is a contemporary lyricist and dramatist. Although Cikker concentrated on operatic creations, he also wrote a considerable number of piano compositions: Sonata in E Minor (1927), while yet pursuing his studies, two compositions for piano In Solitude (1940), Piano Variations (1935), Lullaby (1942), Two Compositions for Youth (1948), Tatra's Brooks (three brilliant compositions for piano, 1954), and finally 15 piano water-colors, What the Children Narrated, also a Concertina for piano and orchestra. In addition there is his arrangement of Slovak Suites for orchestra and two pianos.

The foremost personality in the field of Slovak music is Dezider Kardoš (1914), a student of Alexander Moyzes and V. Novák, a member of the central generation of composers (along with Očenáš, Jurovský, Kresánek, Frešo and Holoubek). Kardoš concentrates his talent on the creation of monumental works, in which his technique is best applied. From among his numerous works the foremost are: Two Piano Compositions (1933), Piano Suite II (1937), Studies for Piano (1947), a series of piano compositions Bagatelles (1948), Cycle of 10 Piano Compositions for Youth (1956), many individual scores for children, and notably the interpretive, yet quite spontaneous three compositions To My Children (Banter, Humoresque, Toccatina). In 1969

he concluded *Piano Concerto* with orchestra. It was his first composition of the concert type. It is not a concert work in the traditional sense of the word. The piano is combined with the orchestral rhythm, but it continues to express the individual motifs and ideas.

Another member of the central generation of composers is Ladislav Holoubek (1913). He studied composition under A. Moyzes, conducting under Jozef Vincourek, piano under Ernest Križan. After completing his studies he pursued composition under V. Novák. Holoubek's artistry is best exemplified in his operatic creations. His works for piano are: Sonata in G Major (1931), Prelude, Passacaglia and Toccata (1934), Four Fugues, II Sonata for Piano (1947), and a cycle for young advanced pianists, Children's Games and Joys.

Prominent also as a representative member of the central generation of composers is Andrej Očenáš (1911). He studied in Bratislava under A. Moyzes (composition), conducting under Jozef Vincourek, and advanced composition under V. Novák in Prague. His production is characterized by design of splendor and monumentality. For the piano he wrote: First Letters (I Piano Suite), Fugue for piano, II Piano Suite, a piano fantasia Sleet, a series of piano compositions, New Spring, a piano suite Youth, a piano suite, Pictures from a Fable, Ballade, Piano Concerto with orchestra, several individual compositions and Flowers of the Field for young pianists. The creations of Očenáš are characterized by original reconstruction of genuine folklore; he therefore resembles the realists, Janaček and Moussorgsky.

A lyrical composer with a feeling for poetic tonal-coloring detail was šimon Jurovský (1912-1963). A student of A. Moyzes (composition), Jozef Vincourek (conducting), he later studied in Vienna under Jozef Marx. In addition to a series of major forms, he left the following piano compositions: *Piano Suite*, 4 compositions for children, *From a Child's Paradise*, a suite from ballet, *Chivalrous Ballade* for piano, *Peace Symphony*, for concert piano and string orchestra.

Tibor Frešo (1918) belongs to a generation which injected a new creative spirit into Slovak music. He studied under the Italian composer, Ildebrand Pizetti at the Academia

di Santa Cecilia in Rome. For piano he wrote a *Miniature Suite*, which is an effective recital composition with lesser technical demands; *Russian Dance* for piano, a piano suite *In a Child's Room* for very young pianists, and a succession of shorter works.

František Babušek (1905-1954) a prominent broadcasting conductor, studied conducting under Pavel Dedeček and composition under V. Novák, Jozef Suk, and Jaroslav Krička in Prague. To Babušek belongs well-deserved credit for producing original compositions and organizing periodic symphonic concerts. He wrote *Prelude* for piano and the majestic *Concerto in D Minor*, which in its claims is indeed somewhat exaggerated, but is a masterly composition in which Babušek amassed a whole assemblage of modern piano techniques, many-faceted rhythms and intricacies.

The leading personality of Slovak musical science is Dr. Jozef Kresánek (1913). He was educated in composition under Rudolf Karl at the Prague Conservatory and at the Graduate School of V. Novák. Along with his scholarly pursuits, which netted him a long series of learned articles, and books, he composed many songs, choruses, chamber music as well as the following works for the piano: Piano Suite in four parts, II Piano Suite, arrangements of Slovak folksongs for young pianists, Meadow Flowers, Elegy for piano, Highwayman's Ballade and others. His Scherzo for the piano is an outstanding work.

The foremost exponent of Slovak musical theory and estheticism is Dr. Otto Ferenczy (1921). As a composer he advanced on the knowledge of Bartók and Stravinsky and was able to combine their thrust with the realism of the Slovak folksong. Characteristic of Ferenczy are his expressive elegance, his brilliance and intellectual humor. His works reflect inspiration from the eastern Slovak folksong and dance, and later from more imposing concert and symphonic works. From a wealth of creative works one must list his *Intermezzo* for piano, and *Capriccio* for piano and orchestra. He wrote an innovative piece entitled *Partita* for concert piano and orchestra.

Ján Zimmer (1926) can be characterized as a highly productive artist and one of the most distinguished figures of a youthful generation of masters. He obtained his musical training at the Bratislava Conservatory, studying organ

under Jozef Veber, piano under Frico Kafenda, and composition under Eugen Suchoň. He also studied composition at the Franz Liszt Academy in Budapest, under Ferencz Farkaš and is a graduate of the Salzburg Seminary in American studies (David Diamond). Zimmer himself is a piano virtuoso, appearing in concerts as the exclusive interpreter of his own compositions and constantly deals with problems involving the piano-solo and piano with orchestra. The blossoming of his style is based on the synthesis of neo-classical interpretive forms with the distinctive quality of sound. In all his works Zimmer explores new directions. Besides a lengthy list of other types of composition, he is credited also with numerous piano works as follows: Four Piano Compositions, Moods, I and II Sonatas for piano, Three Sonatas for 2 pianos, Tatry I-II (I and II suites for piano and orchestra), Three Sonatas for 2 pianos, Four Piano Concertos with orchestra, Concerto for piano without orchestra, A Piano Concerto, with solo part in the bass with orchestra, Three Preludes for piano, Rhapsody for piano and orchestra, Short Fantasia for piano and orchestra. Ten Children's Pieces. Concerto Grosso for 2 pianos, 2 string orchestras, including percussion instruments.

In contemporary musical life a place of distinction belongs to Rudolf Macudzinski (1907), master, pedagogue, and an outstanding Slovak piano virtuoso. A student of V. Kurz and Leos Janáček, he trained a significant number of young piano-artists. As an accomplished artist, he stands in the forefront of Slovak concert life and together with his wife Silvia Macudzinski often concertizes on two pianos, thus ably promoting this less known type of music. His talent and skill in composition takes many forms, but he excels chiefly in instrumental music. From his piano pieces we choose Two Romances, Sonatina, solo theme for piano, Meditation and Fugue for 2 pianos, Divertimento for two pianos, Bagatelles for 2 pianos, orchestral and concert arrangements, Valse-Improptu for piano and orchestra, Variazoni Olimpiche for piano and orchestra. Well known are his arrangements of folksongs for piano and his instructive and presentative works for youth, such as Study of Scales I and II. and Christmas Numbers I Can Play. and others.

Resembling Macudzinski in character and artistic creative thought, is the talented Slovak conductor, Dr. Ľudovít Rajter (1906). He pursued his studies in Vienna under C. Kraus and A. Wunderer, as well as F. Schmidt and J. Marx. Later he continued his studies under Dohnányi in Budapest. His creative works are not as numerous as those of Macudzinski, but artistically they are highly polished. His most important piano piece is *Short Suite* in the old style. Otherwise he composes for orchestra and chorus.

Several composers align themselves with the tradition of artistic creativity based on the folklore of eastern Slovakia. One of these is Jozef Grešák (1907), who with his *Piano Concerto* introduced altogether unusual hues into piano tones and presented quite fascinating methodical problems about natural and unnatural fingerings and the central role of the thumb as the midpoint of a pianistic hand.

An individual of remarkable stature in contemporary Slovak life is Július Kowalski (1912). He studied composition and conducting at the Prague Conservatory under Rudolf Karl, Alojz Haba and Pavel Dedeček. He continued his studies at the Graduate School in Prague under Jozef Suk and Václav Talich, and later in Vienna under C. Kraus. His earlier compositions are influenced by the European avantgarde and Alojz Haba in his Four Pieces for piano, in Fantasia in the quarter-tone system; but his later works are influenced by the Post-Romantic tradition. As a pedagogue, he wrote much for children. His cycles From the World of Toys, five short recital pieces, are written for young pianists.

The years after World War II witnessed the resurgence of a new segment of Slovak musical life, which achieved a natural fusion between folk art and the more exacting principles of classical music. Important for the development of the new genres was the appearance on the scene of artistic folk choirs, like the Slovak Artistic Collective, Lúčnica, Military Artistic Choir, and others. Likewise important was the rise of opera scenarios and the use of radio, cinema, and television. With original composition all the Slovak artists participated in the development of these genres and simultaneously a young generation arose which

also directed its activity to this new segment of Slovak musical life.

A protagonist of modern Slovak musical achievement is Tibor Andrašovan (1917). He is a higly productive and successful Slovak composer in the field of operetta, film, scenario, and folk music. His *Gypsy Dance* for piano and orchestra stands as a worthy sample of his rich creativity, which gained for him both popularity and widespread accolades from an admiring public.

A composer with similar tastes and merit is Bartolomej Urbanec (1918). He studied composition and conducting under A. Moyzes, Eugen Suchoň and Kornel Schimpel, and advanced conducting under Václav Talich. He is one of the pioneers of creative work for artistic folk choirs, such as the Slovak Artistic Collective, Lúčnica, and others. His greatest works are *Concertino* for piano and orchestra and *Three Romantic Pieces*, which often appear on concert programs.

By his creative compositions Teodor Hirner (1910) identifies himself with Eastern Slovakia. He wrote numerous compositions for various audiences. The familiar ones are *Capriccio* for piano and archestra, and his piano cycle *Imagini*.

By character and musical ability Július Letňan (1914-1973) falls into this group. His *Sonata* for piano causes amazement especially in its lyrical middle section where the presentation is colored with truly Slovak beauty and expression. The duet *Dances and Songs* for piano and orchestra is also included in this *Sonata*. Noteworthy is his work *Ten Studies*, in which he solves technical piano problems in modern style.

With the great increase in educational and cultural programs on the radio, and the steadily mounting demands for high artistic standards in musical broadcasts, the number of musicians who turned their talents to the broadcasting arts has likewise increased. A veteran of this broadcasting activity was the pianist Janko Matuška (1897-1959). He was a versatile composer, producing many works, especially for piano. His characteristic features are humor, laughter, optimism and emotional immediacy. The characteristic and typical examples of his notable talent are such short compositions as *Imp in the Chimney*, *Musical Clock*, *Giant*,

Rabbit and Hunter, Humoresque, Minuet, Valse Mignon, variations on folksong: Old Maids, Paraphrases on Slovak Folksongs, and a piano cycle, Slovak Land.

A noteworthy representative of Slovak dance music and songs is Karol Elbert (1911). He wrote 3 jazz sonatas for piano.

Ondrej Francisci (1915) dedicates his works principally to children and young people. He wrote 10 pieces for youth.

In the 1950's a group of talented composers, pupils of Moyzes and Cikker, appeared on the scene. In their case there is no concern for program music or its style. The area of their creative interests is very broad and consists, above all, in contemporary musical art; not lacking, however, are positive efforts to come to terms with the impulses of serial and electronic music.

A composer who divides his creative activity between theory and composition is the musical scholar, Dr. Ladislav Burlas (1922). In his compositions he inclines toward Bartok. The area of his brief forms is represented by *Chaconne* and *Fugue* for piano. Otherwise his chief interest and activity rest with folklore theory and composition.

One of the most original composers in the effort for new artistic patterns is Ilja Zeljenka (1932). His piano works excel in two *Suites* and a *Sonata*.

Pavol Simai (1930) evinces fresh creative orientation in regard to Slovak folk themes. First he studied under Pavol Kados in Budapest, then in Bratislava under A. Moyzes and Ján Cikker; finally he came under Paul Dessau in Berlin. His compositions excel in unconventional lyricism, steeped in sentiment, as exemplified in his piano works: Pastoral for piano, a piano suite From Slovakia and a Sonata for piano. He also wrote numerous shorter forms, such as his Fugues, Invention, Song, Scherzo, Impressions. Mention must also be made of his Sonata Fragment, the Dead, and Pen and Ink Drawings.

A composer noted for his scientific work in music theory is Dr. Ivan Hrušovský (1927). In composition he was a student of A. Moyzes. His early works are characterized by principles of the new Romanticism and Impressionism, exemplifying the influence of his teacher. He manifests his individuality in his later compositions and his dominant characteristics are his inclination toward lyricism and his

outstanding technique. Besides other works he wrote a *Sonatina* for piano, *Piano Variations*, *Toccata* for piano and a *Piano Concerto* with orchestra. His *Sonata* for piano is particularly valuable. In its three movements he incorporates all the concepts exemplifying piano techniques of the present day.

Narcisa Donátová (1928) is an ambitious musician. The greater-lesser styles of vocal music are her domain, but she also writes piano pieces, such as *Suite for Youth*, the suites *How the Forests Reminisce, Talking Suite*, the suite *In a New School* and others. Among her shorter works are *Brioni Island, Marilyn Bridge, The Moon and the Ocean*, and *Red Lantern*.

The talented Jozef Malovec (1933) belongs to the youngest generation. Instrumental music is dominant in his limited production. He wrote two sonatinas for the piano.

For the dissemination of cultural music to the rural areas much is being accomplished by these young musicians. One of them is Tibor Sládkovič (1928), known for his *Ten Piano Variations*.

Peter Kolman (1937) may be classed among composers searching for fresh developmental methods. Hindemith and Schönberg exerted the greatest influence on his works. His two most serious pieces composed for piano are *Three Miniatures* and *Three Compositions* in memory of Schönberg.

Dušan Martinček (1936) is a most versatile musician. He studied piano at the conservatory in Bratislava under the direction of Anna Kafenda, and composition privately under Ján Cikker and Ján Zimmer. He writes principally for piano; his models are eminent personalities in musical circles, such as A. N. Scriabin, S. V. Rachmaninoff, Béla Bartok, and D. D. Shostakovich. His works include: Rhapsody for piano and orchestra, Three Preludes, Six Etudes, Variations, Poem for piano (Sonata I), Three Preludes and Fugues, Two Dances with a Bulgarian Rhythm, Dialogues in the form of variations for piano and orchestra, Two Romantic Preludes in memory of A. Scriabin, Concert Rhapsody Negrea, Seven Concert Etudes, containing interesting new problems in piano techniques; three waltzes, Quasi Valse, References to Bagpipes, Introduction and Toccata for piano

and string orchestra, *Three Sonatinas*, five new *Preludes* and *Fugues* (1970).

Ivan Párik (1936) has enjoyed close association with the vast panorama of European music. Originally he studied under Alexander Albrecht, composition under Andrej Očenáš, and conducting under K. Schimpel. Eventually he became a student of A. Moyzes. He is one of the most talented composers of the younger generation. In his search for contemporary and unconventional modes of expression, he attained admirable results in his works for piano: Rhapsody for piano, Night a sketch for two pianos, Suite for piano, Sketch for piano, Three Pieces for piano, Songs About Falling Leaves (4 compositions for piano).

Juraj Hátrik (1941) wrote Sonata in C Sharp Minor for piano, Andante Semplice and Burlesque for piano, Toccata and Romantic Etude in F Sharp Minor, Short Suite. For children he wrote the cycle The Last Vacation Day and for young clients a piano Concerto Facile.

Miroslav Bazlik (1931) entered a music school upon the recommendation of Ján Cikker. His earliest productions, *Sonata in B Minor* for piano and bagatelles *A Palette* show a Post-Romantic and Impressionistic influence. In the following compositions he manifests an inclination toward neo-Classicism, as exemplified in *Six Variations*, *Concert Etude*, and *Moment Musical*.

Marián Ivankovič (1931) has to his credit a number of works in various styles. He wrote *Trifles* for piano.

Roman Berger, one of the youngest, wrote a *Sonata* for piano and a *Suite* (Prelude, Scherzo, Toccata).

Jozef Sixta's first composition was *Two Fugues*. He also wrote *Five Compositions* and *Fantasia* for piano.

To the afore-mentioned must be added Ivan Konečný, who wrote *Two Bagatelles* for piano, *Variations*, *Two Fugues*, and *Three Compositions*.

Vladimír Bokes, son of the late Dr. Bokes, well-known musical author, made his debut in music composition with *Partita* for piano (Prelude, Aria, Capriccio).

This brief survey gives some slight indication of the tireless effort and persistent struggle endured by the musically gifted Slovak nation, which ably shaped its musical culture despite turbulent times and developed it to match the music standards of greater nations.

### HOMELAND AND HEAVEN:

# Incarnation and Resurrection in the Last Poems of Miloš K. Mlynarovič

The published form of Zlatá koruna: Rozhovor s anjelom smrti (The Golden Crown: Dialogue with the Angel of Death), the poetic last will and testament of Miloš K. Mlynarovič, is a bilingual edition in which the reverend monsignor's original Slovak poems stand sideby-side with their English translation by Sister M. Martina Tybor, SS.C.M. Sister Martina's work is faithful to the expression and metrics of the Slovak but also admirably sensitive to the American English idiom and artistic in its own right for its rendering of metaphor and contemporary diction. Thus, these final poems by Monsignor Mlynarovič, with their fine tribute to native land, freedom, and, above all, the faith, are fittingly available to both the reader who can enjoy the music and language of the original Slovak and the reader who is accustomed to the modes of current American poetry.

I am the son of a Slovak mother; I am he whom the Statue of Liberty welcomed, and thankful am I, I, a world citizen who now walks through the world with Christ Jesus.

(Whose Voice is This, p. 16)\*

It is not simply an accident of placement that puts the brief verse, "Čí je to hlas?" ("Whose Voice is This?"), first in *The Golden Crown*. In joining love of homeland, love of freedom, and love of life as a "world citizen" with a deep faith in the abiding presence of the Lord Jesus and a sense

<sup>\*</sup> All quotations of poems are from Miloš K. Mlynarovič, *Zlatá koruna/The Golden Crown*, translated by Sister M. Martina Tybor, SS.C.M. (Middletown, Pa.: Jednota Printery, 1972).

of intimate fellowship with Him, the poet and priest announces in "Whose Voice is This" the religious perspective which all the poems in this volume take. As we read and reread this holy man's *Dialogue with the Angel of Death*, we see more and more clearly that Monsignor Mlynarovič's spirituality is deeply grounded in his faith in the Incarnation and the Resurrection.

As he squarely faces his own dying and assents to the summons of the Angel of Death, Monsignor Mlynarovič grows more, rather than less, in love with the world. There is nothing of unhealthy "attachment" about this love, however. He exults in seedlings and trees, golden grain, land and sea, the sunset, moon and stars, the flames of beeswax candles, the flight of the skylark, shuttered windows, the table set for a meal, bookshelves, the ticking and cuckooing of a clock—enjoying and celebrating them for themselves, for the Creator whose artistry they proclaim, and also for the truths they have to tell. All living things and all arts and crafts are, for this poet, a sign, a reminder, that God has indeed visited His people and invested man's handiwork with holiness. Despite the fact that "derisive laughter taunts: there is no God, and if there ever was, he is dead now," despite the fact that modern man is sorely tempted to an ungodly egotism as he prides himself on his accomplishments and powers, the Angel of Death insists that man's life and work have been-and still are-sanctified:

Hold fast your faith! The flame of truth freshly jets out of a living source.

It plies its busy tasks in laboratories, fissioning and splicing; it hulls away the secrets of being

and, like sprightly skylarks, pours out thanks for creation.

Where there is life and growth there will be upheaval, too.

Dynamos

pressure the mind of man into tomorrow where, triumphantly, confidently, he builds a world

toward the tomorrow of tomorrows in which he will arise resurrected from the dead.

("Dialogue with the Angel of Death," p. 22)

How can a man who has lived to see his native countrymen oppressed and his adopted land slowly overtaken by a kind of technological paganism still retain hope in the sacredness of this life? By this one assurance alone—that in the midst of the tug-of-war between good and evil there is still One who has come, who still "invites," who will return:

. . . Someone did live here, one who spoke mightily and the word became the flesh of the cosmos.

The fields unfold and blossom. Someone has sown them and

continues to sow them fruitfully, effectively . . .

And one day there will be a return; a wearied wayfarer will call, exhausted beyond recognition,

faint with hunger and thirst, eager to know all about our harvests and about ourselves.

Seating himself, he will join us, drink of our water and break our fragrant bread.

("Dialogue with the Angel of Death," p. 24)

Thus, notwithstanding his own heartbreak, homesickness, and pain, Monsignor Mlynarovič finds in the approach of death an ever-increasing ability to see through the smoke-screen of present evil and sorrow to a vision of great hope. Because of his profound personal conviction that the Word-made-flesh continues to dwell among us, the dying pastor finds himself overwhelmed with a love of the earth which is derived directly from his faith in God's love for His creatures. Monsignor Mlynarovič expresses this abounding Father-fostered love in his fondness for the simplest of things: "garments of rye" and "oak-forested tracts" ("My Slovak People"), "the breath of twilight's billowing clouds" and night "as intense as the cyclamen" ("The Wayfarer").

Because he himself is so truly a man who is "salt of the earth" in the most Christ-like way, Monsignor Mlynarovič cherishes his Slovak heritage religiously. One could never accuse him of mere nationalism or of undue ethnic pride in his praise of the Slovak people who, "clutching life," are "determined not to die" ("My Slovak People," p. 62). He is not just speaking of the preservation of a culture; rather, he is revealing his belief that the life of God seems to him to be especially embodied, enfleshed, in the Slovak folk. The simplicity and purity of lived faith, the spontaneity of prayer, the acceptance of God's will in the daily circumstances of home and family, the capacity for endurance of endless trials, and the humble closeness to the earth which are all characteristic of the Slovaks seem to

the poet a unique and blessed expression of the impact of the Incarnation of a people.

We see that in his Christian optimism the poet is far from blind to suffering. He observes that "pain saturates the ocean; agony bursts out of the hills / and all the domestic brood shields its face and flees in desperation" ("The Wayfarer," p. 28). At the same time, he believes without hesitation that "man is no slave; / even in its bleakest moments life has always been a gratuitous gift / not a mere bone grudgingly thrown you by some tyrant and left lying there" (p. 30). For this priest-poet, pain and delight are simultaneous. We can understand this seeming paradox somewhat better if we recognize that man's participation in the Incarnation, his living of the present Christlife, also means following through the Lord's passion and death. So we read in "He is Not Here" the aged monsignor appealing to Christ:

—Do not unfasten, I beg! Nail back again that ugly nail in its place.
As long as the face of humanity is befouled let this be my resting place . . .

(p. 46)

In "The Mandate" he asks the angel, "Rest the crucifix upon my breast" (p. 44), and in "The Resurrection Station" he avers, "There has always been and there will always be a cross as long as earth can hear the bell-tones of the heart" (p. 54). What we find, in short, is that from his utterly joyful belief in the Incarnation Monsignor Mlynarovič is prompted to bring that Good News to others; having been so moved, he commits himself to crucifixion:

Time ticks the counsel: Give of yourself. That is the only way to assure your own increase.

Help man toward the everlasting; help God; in this way only will God shine through all things.

Even through us.

("Timepieces," p. 38)

Just as his love of the world is inspired by his faith in the Incarnation, Monsignor Mlynarovič's generous and complete self-surrender is motivated by his hope in the Resurrection. As a result, these deathwatch poems are never finally unhappy, though they candidly admit that the process of letting-go is far from easy. There are regrets and longings and daydreams:

One final flight took him back to greet his native land once more:

fragrance of wine and bread; no one suffers want here. and not a dove, nor the cross crowning the spire, in fact, not even the dog whose baying shatters the night, nothing was alien to him here.

He wished to catch again the sounding evening bell and the siren's wail.

the light of tender eyes in the cradle, the tread of tottering years—oh, so pain-filled now.

And he moved along the range, gladdened by a skylark welcome and

sat at the lakeside with streaming tears, weeping with the swan that pours out a final song.

("Before Parting," p. 32)

All these longings, lingering as they are, are overcome by the promise of the Pasch, by his conviction that dying does not really mean giving up anything. He can still regard his people, his homeland, birds, flowering plants, and all God's goods with tenderness and affection because he is certain that all are moving into a transformation and glorification: "like the Tatry, I too await resurrection" ("Upon the Bier," p. 34). He does not look forward to a disembodied otherworld but to the realization of a new earth and a new heaven. For himself, for his people, for all mankind toiling with the creatures of land, sea, and sky, he prophesies an immortality of united bodies and souls. of matter and spirit drawn together in the pattern of the Resurrection and, we might add, our Lady's Assumption. "Whoever once had the gift of life / cannot ever not live again," he declares ("He is Not Here," p. 48).

Monsignor Mlynarovič turns to the image of the dove—with all its rich symbolic associations for Christians—to depict his own soul and his destiny in dying:

O faithful dove, now you can claim your everlasting nesting place.

No storm or flood can ever touch it now.

Yours is the sharing of the seed, the partaking of the very tree of life.

You shall wing your flight in majesty, wheeling into the inner court of God

where multitudes of the redeemed who call to you gently sound the dithyramb of God's creation.

("The Mandate," p. 44)

This dying, this letting-loose of the dove, is no leavetaking, he is sure. It is, rather, a liberation from a cage and an occasion of homecoming:

I leave but I shall be gone only for a time. The dove shall return to its cote

and I shall return to you with vehemence and ardor (for now a growing faintness hinders me) and once again I shall be one of you.

I know that in eternity no one clips the wings of love, so I shall freely wing a return flight to my homeland; I shall kiss and be kissed,

I shall come again to plant boxwood hedges once more.

("I Shall Come to You," p. 50)

A contemporary American poet, Richard Wilbur, has said that "Love calls us to the things of this world." In considering the poems of Miloš Mlynarovič's Golden Crown we can see how profoundly meaningful such a statement is for the Christian. As the beloved monsignor so gracefully gives himself over to his own death, he shows that for the man of faith dying is really an intensification of life. As he prepares for a total union with God—in whose unseen company he has spent his years—the dving man comes to realize that he is not going away, not ending one life to begin another, but that he is being set free to experience fully—at last—the life with God that is. The Incarnation, Christ's coming, has already opened the way to communion between God and man; it is only by consenting to die and rise with Christ, however, that man can begin to experience the reality of this presence of himself and God to one another. For Monsignor Mlynarovič the yes to the call of Angel of Death springs him free as a high-flying dove. And this freedom, the freedom of Easter (which dawns on us gradually, not merely at the moment when we can officially be pronounced dead), draws us, he assures, to a deeper, fuller, and holier love of the dovecote.

Sister M. Pamela S m i t h. SS.C.M.

## The Slovak Dilemma in Austria-Hungary\*

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At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the educated middle class Slovak in Austria-Hungary found himself enmeshed in a multiple identity crisis. He could remain a Slovak and thus limit his chance for any meaningful participation in the Hungarian Establishment; he could ally himself with the Czechs as a junior partner; he could indulge in an illusionary alliance with Russia; or he could abandon his Slovak identity and become a Magyar.

This dilemma weighed most heavily upon members of the Slovak intelligentsia because their status in Hungarian society was contingent upon the choice they made. Yet, the survival of the entire Slovak nation was thought to be in question. Almost all the Slovak and pro-Slovak literati declaimed inevitable doom and prophesized the gradual extinction of the Slovaks. Robert Seton-Watson spoke of the virtual destruction of Slovak nationality, and concluded, "... especially after the notorious Education Act of Count Albert Apponyi in 1907, the process of Magyarization was advancing by leaps and bounds, in particular along the Southern linguistic frontier . . . The victim was rescued just in time." <sup>1</sup>

The question arises then: Can an entire people vanish, in modern times, by the superimposition of powerful outside forces? Was the feeling of doom justified as far as

<sup>\*</sup> NOTE: We are publishing this article on the recommendation of Prof. J. M. Kirschbaum, concerning an exchange of views on the Slovak question in Austria-Hungary as a precondition for preparing a better future for all nations of Central Europe. Professor Vermes' conclusions are not identical with Slovak views but he presents a serious and well documented attempt at an objective analysis from the Hungarian point of view.

the Slovaks were concerned? The statistics are inexorable, and they do seem to indicate a gradual erosion in the number of Slovaks still maintaining their national identity.<sup>2</sup> The pull of Magyarization was especially strong among the Slovak educated middle class; very understandably, this caused the gravest concern to the nationalist Slovaks.

The nationalist group was also greatly concerned over the large scale emigration of Slovak peasants who left the Tatra Mountains to settle in the adjoining territories which were inhabited by the Magyars or by a mixed population. The peasants also migrated to the big cities, to Budapest in particular, and a considerable number emigrated to America. Yet a revealing comparison between the number of Slovaks who could speak only their native tongue in 1900 and the same category in 1910 shows that a sizable segment remained Slovak.3 In the isolated hamlets and villages of the Tatra, the population remained Slovak, not because of any conscious or deliberate effort to assert themselves as such, but because they lived in homogeneous compact groups. Magyar power reached them only through various types of county officials, and through the school teachers, but even if the little pupil learned to mutter a few sentences in Hungarian, most likely he disposed of them at home with a natural sense of relief.

The anticipated diminution of the intellectual elite, therefore, did not seem to conflict with the simultaneous preservation of a less sophisticated stratum of society much less exposed to alien influences. Thus, the usage of the term extinction becomes somewhat exaggerated and overly pessimistic. The Slovak peasantry, provided they were ignorant and indifferent to any kind of cause, including that of Slovak nationalism, could still be considered a bulwark against national self-annihilation and perhaps even as a reservoir of a future Slovak national renaissance.

The reasons for the Slovak predicament are fairly well-known.<sup>4</sup> The two basic factors were their early loss of independence to the Hungarians in the 9th-10th centuries A.D. and their sparse expansion over their poor and mountainous terrain. Beginning in the mid-19th century, two additional components were added. One was the disadvantage resulting from the absence of an independent Czech or Slovak state. (This was a disadvantage in comparison

with the Austro-Rumanian and Austro-Serbian position, strengthened by the existence of an independent Rumania and Serbia). The other factor in the Slovaks' plight was the clash between two adverse national egos, the Magyar and the Slovak. As long as the Monarchy lasted, Magyar nationalism gained the upper hand, not because of any inherent superior quality but as a natural consequence of a superior power, superior in the political, social, and economic sense, and even in the psychological sphere of self-assurance.

Hungary had much to be proud of by the second half of the 19th century. It had grown from a backward agricultural country into a relatively advanced agricultural-industrial state. After an unsuccessful revolution in 1848-1849, astute negotiations aided by fortuitous circumstances led to equal partnership with Austria in 1867. Hungary became an integral part of a dualist system which maintained its great power status up to the very end of its existence, in spite of its inner weaknesses. In 1896, prosperity, though unevenly shared, and optimism, though not unanimous, exploded into the pageantry of the Milleneum, the one-thousandth anniversary of Hungary's existence. The country-gentry was the major conveyor of this festive spirit. In their patriotic fervor they were supported by an urban middle class, consisting partly of their own kin, partly of the remnants of the old German burgher class, and partly by a growing number of Jews. Quite often members of these two latter groups turned into more zealous Magyars than the Magyars themselves. Jenő Rákosi, of German origin, was the wellknown editor of the Budapest Hirlap; he coined the slogan of "A Great Hungary of 30 million Magyars." 5 and his Jewish journalist colleagues backed him up with unfaltering ardor.

The gentry, however, though deeply entrenched in their strongholds, the administrations of state and counties, was no longer the liberal generation of 1848. As Oszkár Jászi pointed out, this gentry, by losing its economic power, and somewhat bewildered by the complexities of a new emerging urban-commercial-industrial society, compensated for its growing insecurity with an ever strengthening assertion of national superiority. In order to justify this superiority and persevere in it, the gentry stubbornly

maintained its traditional, legal-political arguments, to the point of referring to the "Law" even when actual injustice was admitted. The Fundamental Law, to which constant reference was made, was considered historical by the Magyar ruling classes, and was based on their rights by virtue of the Magyar conquest. Even such a recognized moderate as Kálmán Széll (Prime Minister of Hungary, 1899-1903) asserted, "The Magyars have conquered this country for themselves and not for others. The supremacy and hegemony of the Magyars is fully justified." 8

No one would deny the exceptions to this rule. The impact of Ferenc Deák and Baron József Eötvös, the great Hungarian liberal statesmen, was still evident upon the creation of the Nationality Law of 1868, which granted extensive cultural rights to the non-Magyar nationalities. though it stopped short of acknowledging their existence as separate legal-political entities. In his exile, Lajos Kossuth changed from an intolerant chauvinist into the champion of a Danubian Federation, and he had a faithful disciple in Hungary in the person of Lajos Mocsáry. In later years, preceding World War I, Ozskár Jászi, a sociologist and politician of radical-leftist leanings, was sympathetically inclined to the course providing genuine equality between Magyars and non-Magyars. These and several other exceptions notwithstanding, most Magyars were indifferent at best, and outrightly hostile at worst, to the national aspirations, demands, and needs of their fellow non-Magyar citizens.

The consequences of such attitudes were examined even by the conservative school of Hungarian historians. Count Pál Teleki recognized the impossibility of creating a unified Hungarian nation through enforced assimilation,<sup>9</sup> and in addition he blamed the innumerable blunders of the Magyarization efforts on Magyar inconsistency and Magyar administrative inefficiency.<sup>10</sup> According to Gyula Szekfű, the process of Magyarization was detrimental because it corroded the Hungarian nation's moral fibre, yet it was not the "fearsome and bloodthirsty monster of Jászi and Seton-Watson, but a childish construction, a plaything, and an unrealizable and overly emotional postulate, doing more harm to the Magyars, than to their nationalities." <sup>11</sup>

Thus, behind the apparently rigid and legal pedantry

of the Magyar public, it has not been hard to discover the emotional content, reflecting frustrations and childlike wishful thinking. To be sure, these elements were of considerable weight. However, at least equal stress should be laid on other factors as well, such as anxiety and fear of being encircled and outnumbered and consequently, of being eventually engulfed and annihilated. That fear and anxiety were never expressed in these pessimistic terms. but rather in their psychological reverse: The Hungarian nation would never perish, because of its power, its eagerness to grow from 10 to 30 million if possible, and because of its readiness to absorb all non-Magvars by all means available. Yet behind this facade of self-confidence, fear and anxiety lurked, often in near paranoic dimensions. Lajos Steier, a Hungarian "expert" on the Slovaks, sounded the alarm hysterically, "... Magyar hegemony, national unity, and our Fatherland are in mortal danger!" 12 Regardless of the validity of his anxiety, his proficiency in the affairs of Slovak-Magyar relations provided him with enough foresight to see the "danger" in a Czech-Slovak rapprochement. 13 Most Hungarians, however, were content to release their fear and anxiety in their chase of an all-encompassing vet amorphous scarecrow, Pan-Slavism, which was not understood properly at all, but was used as a charge both against bomb-throwing anarchists and totally harmless literati, attributing dark conspiratorial machinations to both.

Hungarian gendarmes killed and wounded several Slovaks at the village of Černová, on October 27, 1907. The reason for the unrest was the punitive actions taken against Černová's Slovak nationalist priest, Father Andrej Hlinka by his Magyarone superiors in the Catholic hierarchy. The massacre was followed by stormy sessions in the Hungarian Parliament. Milan Hodža, one of the seven nationalist Slovak members, was accused of paving the way for the massacre through his agitation, and some of his Magyar colleagues called him "Assassin! ... rotten agitator!" 14 The Magyar representative from the district of Černová, Odön Beniczky, painted a picture of Slovak agitation, a picture, which could have taken a rightful place in Dante's Inferno. He talked of the once pious Slovaks throwing rocks at every coach owned by Hungarian gentlemen, about Slovak agitators going around the villages, spreading news of

Hungarians taking Slovak children away during the night and taking them down to the Great Hungarian Plain in order to make good Magyars out of them; he conveyed the impression that Slovak peasants were ready to grab an axe and resort to unbridled violence. Hodža demanded proof, but none was forthcoming. The entire Hungarian Parliament sat in stunned silence, but in evident concurrence with the speaker.<sup>15</sup>

The purpose of delving into these two factors, fear and anxiety, it not to overplay their role at the expense of the other components already mentioned, but rather, to point toward the substance of the Hungarian gentry and middle class mentality: Being alone, feeling isolated in the midst of "aliens"—Germans, Slavs, Rumanians—was a source of both real pride and real fear, but fear could never be openly confessed, specifically because of the accompanying sense of pride. This lack of balance, therefore, created an unhealthy atmosphere of irrationality and arrogance, which in turn provoked an equally irrational and arrogant response from the representatives of the nationalities; thus, gradually and tragically, all the bridges were burned.

The Slovak "deviation" from Magyar patriotism perhaps hurt the Hungarians the most, because, in spite of the bitter experience of 1848, when many Slovaks sided with the Habsburgs against the Hungarians, the Slovak people were still trusted as the "simple, guileless, and pious little brother" of the "sturdy and powerful" Magyar nation. Treason might well be expected from the "fierce Rác" (Serb), or the "crafty Oláh" (Rumanian), but not from a "Tót" (A condescending Magyar word for Slovak). There was no viciousness in the general Hungarian view of the Slovaks, but rather a sense of patronizing benevolence, so charmingly popularized in the novels and short stories of Kálmán Mikszáth. The alleged Pan-Slav agitation aroused such a great fury exactly because it seemed to disrupt the "idyllic harmony" between Magyar and Slovak which was so deeply rooted in historical tradition and friendly coexistence. There was another side to the coin of benevolent patronization, however. The "Tót" was liked perhaps, but obviously not respected as an equal of the Magyar. Count Jószef Mailáth remarked in an otherwise strongly chauvinistic rebuttal to H. W. V. Temperley, the famous British historian, "We must confess that the depreciation of Slovakism, whether in lower or higher circles is a thing to which everybody is accustomed in Hungary. There is a saying, a Slovak is no man." <sup>16</sup>

What was the response of young educated Slovaks to this general Magyar attitude toward them? Jozef Škultéty, a well-known Slovak writer wants us to believe "... the Slovak remains true to himself...he most frequently preserves his soul. He will sooner squeeze another than yield<sup>17</sup>... the Slovak does not imitate." <sup>18</sup> The facts and figures squarely contradict Škultéty: According to one estimate, shortly before World War I, the number of the educated Slovak-oriented families did not exceed five hundred in number. <sup>19</sup> However, should we blame the average Slovak for his eagerness to become a Magyar when all the economic and social advantages were on the Magyar side?

The Magyar attitude towards the national minorities in general and towards the Slovaks in particular was racial only in a limited or qualified sense. The Magyar was considered superior and the Slovak inferior, but as soon as the Slovak decided to become a Magyar, he seemingly underwent a miraculous metamorphosis and was accepted as a full-fledged member of the Hungarian nation. In Magyar eyes, by his conversion, this neophyte Magyar manifested his maturity and wisdom and acquired all the higher qualities attributed to the Magyars. This belief served then as the foundation for pursuing Magyarization through the schools and churches. Albert Einstein could have never graduated into Nazi Germany's "Herrenvolk," but the son of a nationalist Slovak Lutheran pastor, Pavol Hojč, could become Pál Hojtsy, a recognized historian, who published a book in 1902, under the title of Great Hungary, the Future Centuries of Hungarian History. Not every "new" Hungarian bothered to change his name even. A famous Catholic bishop Ottokár Prohászka did not. However, it was not necessarily the sound of the name but the spirit that really counted. Bishop Prohászka, though progressive in many respects, became one of the leading intellectual and spiritual leaders of the ultra chauvinistic counter-revolutionary movements in Hungary during the 1920's. The following excerpts is from a speech he held before a rightist audience in Budapest, "Beneath the national idea we have

to sense Magyar Reality, Magyar Blood, Magyar Land, and Magyar Life. But we ought not only to sense all of these—we have to live Magyar destiny." <sup>20</sup>

Were these people happy and satisfied with their choice? We cannot read their minds in retrospect, but there is no reason to assume that they were not. Magyar nationalistic policies could be harsh even brutal at times, but they did not demand an open or public renunciation of the old abandoned language, and an open or public pledge for the new one. Quite surely, thousands and thousands of Slovaks turned into Magyars without the flourish of trumpets and worked quietly and diligently. To call them opportunists would be to expect too much from human nature. For the average Slovak high school graduate, with an absolute proficiency in the Magyar language, the appeal of being accepted as an "adult," and also, of course, of securing positions in the church, schools, civil service, etc., was hard to resist. Perhaps some of the "super-converts" who wished to out-Magyar the most bigoted Magyars could be put out of countenance at times if they—as it always happens with this type—were keen on not only asserting the new but denying and hiding the old. György Szmrecsányi, a member of the Parliament, sounded quite embarrassed when after reading long quotes from Slovak newspapers he was questioned about his ethnic origin by Milan Hodža.<sup>21</sup>

Who were the members of the minority, the nationally minded Slovaks? They too were graduates of the Magyar high schools, thus proving, at least partially, the self-defeating nature of Magyarization through education. Out of every hundred "converts" perhaps only a few became "rebels," but these latter could potentially cause a great deal of trouble—as they did in fact—to the idea and practices of a one and only Magyar National State. The commonly shared goal of the Slovak nationalists was not an independent Slovakia or Czecho-Slovakia, but broad Slovak autonomy within Hungary. Mátyás Bella, one of the Slovak nationalist representatives in the Hungarian Parliament said, "Should all the national minorities be able to assert themselves within the State of Hungary, then I will welcome that State." 22 In this sense, the members of this group were the Slovak counterparts of the Czech Austro-Slavs. The

dominant character of the Slovak nationalist movement in Hungary was conservative and Catholic. The main reason for this trend lay in the fact that most Slovak nationalist leaders emerged from a conservative Catholic background, the religious preference for about two-thirds of the Slovaks, and the major aim of these leaders was to win over the fundamentally conservative and religious peasant masses. Conservatism, therefore, functioned both as a source and a purpose.

The goal of Slovak autonomy was of such paramount importance that it seemed to override all other ideological considerations, even to the point of apparent inconsistency. Milan Hodža was more than eager to strike a simultaneous alliance with all opposition groups outside the Parliament, the radicals and the socialists, and with the Heir to the Crown, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, There was also heavy emphasis laid on cooperation with leaders of other national minorities, especially with the Rumanians, who had more elected representatives in the Hungarian Parliament and had a longer tradition and greater experience in their "battle" against Magyar chauvinism ("The roots of the Little Entente").23 This Magyar chauvinism was eventually countered by Slovak chauvinism, and it is quite evident that Hodža and his fellow Slovak nationalists spoke one language to their colleagues in the Hungarian Parliament, and another one to their Slovak constituents and reading public. The Parliament was filled with complaints over the "duplicity" of the Slovak nationalists, supported by direct quotes from Budapest-based Slovak newspapers.24

To what extent was the "dilemma" solved for those who chose the Slovak road? It again could be assumed that the reward of fighting for a cause was satisfying on a personal level. However, it was a frustrating fight, not only because it did not seem to bring substantial results, but also because it was beset by a lack of broad support and by a sense of inner insecurity. One had to prove himself a Slovak in his own right, and this task was most difficult in the midst of an environment, where almost every particle of the atmosphere was saturated with condescension for the "Tót" and suspicion of the Slovak.

In this antagonistic atmosphere, emotional attachment

to all brother Slavs and to "Mother Russia" in particular was an aid to some who declined to succumb to Magyar pressure. The roots of this romantic sentiment reach back to the early-middle 19th century, to Ján Kollár and to Ľudovít Štúr. With the passing of romanticism, cultural Slavophilism turned into political Pan-Slavism, which was frequently a barely concealed instrument of Russian foreign policy. Russia's attention, however, was focused on the Balkans. Thus. Slovak-Russian relations suffered more because of the Russians' lack of interest, rather than from the handicap of geographical barriers. A voice of near fatalistic resignation was struck by the leader of the russophile Martin group, Svetozár Hurban-Vajanský in a letter to a Russian friend, "... if there is no chance for the Slovaks to live under Russian hegemony, then it would be better for them to vanish altogether." 25 In the eyes of the Martin group, Tsarist Russia could do no wrong. Yet, although most educated Slovaks, with the exception of the Magyarones, shared a vague sense of brotherhood with all other Slavs, active russophilism encountered several stumbling blocks. The oppressive character of the Tsarist regime alienated the Slovak liberals and democrats, while the orthodox zeal of Tsarist officialdom estranged the Slovak Catholic conservatives. Both camps were infuriated by Russia's anti-Polish policy. The liberals and democrats were incensed because the rights of a fellow Slav nation were being violated; the Catholics resented the anti-Catholic policy of the Tsarist government. Consequently, the number of russophiles was limited and their emotional, neo-romantic movement reached an impasse by the early 20th century.

There was another alternative left for the young educated Slovak: to turn to the Czechs. Liberals and democrats among the Slovak intelligentsia, clustering around the founders of the journal *Hlas*, Vavro šrobár and Pavol Blaho, were inclined to do so. Yet, the "czechophile" group among the Slovak intellectuals was also relatively small<sup>26</sup> and without considerable influence, "... the main reason why we were so powerless and submissive was that during those long decades we did not look to Czech culture and the idea of Czechoslovak unity as in 1848." <sup>27</sup> — these were the bitter words of Ivan Markovič, a Slovak politician, and

a member of several Czecho-Slovak cabinets after 1918. I have used this quote for a very important reason: My contention is that though the logic of the quote is entirely correct, it could and should be used in a reverse sense as well. Certainly, the Slovaks could have learned a great deal of self-assurance and a sense of strength from the Czechs, but one reason why the Slovaks were so reluctant to do so was precisely because of their relative weakness and backwardness.

The Slovaks were caught in a vicious circle. A "pilgrimage" to Prague was a sensible thing to do; there was so much to learn there. Such a journey, however, concurred with an open admission of inferiority; one often had to swallow one's pride, and the Czechs did not make this cooperation easy. They too had developed a patronizing attitude towards the Slovaks, the implication of which was more complex than was the case between Magyar and Slovak. A Slovak, by his own will, could become a full-fledged member of a ruling nation, the Magyars, and an "adult" in Magyar society. A Slovak in Prague would most likely remain a Slovak who was not expected to abandon his people but was asked to affiliate. On paper, this latter proposition appears to be much more humane and democratic. Yet, if an alliance is not maintained as between equals, then being relegated to a subordinate position is worse than not being included in one at all. Perhaps the young educated Slovaks had a foreboding of this predicament, and most of them chose the "easy way" to Budapest, even if that resulted in Pál dropping Pavol and János shedding Ján.

Had there then ever been any hope for the Slovak intelligentsia in Austria-Hungary? Could they in any way have guided the destiny of Slovakia before 1918? Was there any realistic solution to their dilemma? For some of them yes, but at a price. One group of realists joined the Magyars, at the price of assimilation. Another group of realists associated itself with the Czechs, at the price of a new though more subtle form of subordination. For the russophiles, entrapped by their phantasies, the solution was more a matter of heart than of mind. The ones remaining on the "Slovak path" were thrown back to their own resources, intense in their enthusiasm and faith but incapable of overcoming the heavy odds against them. Therefore, the Slovaks in

Austria-Hungary had no chance whatever to ignore or cast aside the available options in favor of a universal Slovak solution. Their dilemma weighed on them as their historical heritage, present predicament, and a portent of difficult times to come.

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# Centennial of Slovak Health Spas in the Tatra Mountains

Rev. Andrew V. Pier, O.S.B.

This year (1975) marks the 100th anniversary of public establishment of the now famous health centers in two High Tatra regions, namely, Nový Smokovec and štrbské Pleso, and at Lučivná, located at the northern end of the Low Tatra mountains in Slovakia.

At Nový Smokovec located at the foot of the forested slope leading upward to the Slavkovský peak was the first Slovak health resort set aside for tuberculosis patients a hundred years ago. The low humidity, year-round sunshine and intense ultra-violet radiation, crisp atmosphere at the high altitude of some 8,000 feet, low atmospheric pressure . . . these health factors lend themselves to a natural center for the relief and cure of not only pulmonary ailments and chronic respiratory troubles, but contribute greatly to the cure of diseases of the thyroid gland and various neuroses. For the healthy Nový Smokovec is a natural winter sports' resort and a tourist attraction the rest of the year. Accommodations are modest but adequate.

Converted from a hunting-lodge the štrbské Pleso lake region soon become a popular summer resort and a winter attraction for ski enthusiasts soon after its opening to the public before the end of the 19th century. But it, too, has reserved certain areas to treat patients suffering from asthma, bronchitis and allergies afflicting the lungs. The Institute of Asthmatology there has done wonders in relieving and curing asthma sufferers.

Several years ago the štrbské Pleso Tatra mountain resort became known throughout the world when the world ski championships were held there. Visitors from all parts of the world had words of praise not only for the natural beauty of the location but also for the hospitality of the Slovak people. The Hviezdoslav, Kriváň and other hotels offer modern accommodations to thousands of guests who come to štrbské Pleso annually for their health or for recreation summer or winter.

Lučivná is exclusively a health resort at the foot of the Tatras. It is located in a magic woodland region in the northern foothills of the Low Tatra mountain range. Most of the patients are children suffering from respiratory diseases although after World War I and II Lučivná served for a time to cure veterans suffering from diseases of the lungs.

While we are on the subject of health, perhaps it is well to note here that in other parts of Slovakia: Piešťany, Trenčianske Teplice, Prešov, Sliač and a dozen others as well, the natural thermal springs are the source of mineral waters that help to relieve and cure thousands of patients suffering from rheumatism, heart trouble, nervous disorders, high blood pressure and various other internal ailments.

A closing remark is a personal observation. No wonder that not one but several neighbors of the lands inhabited by the Slovaks since the 5th or 6th century have longingly gazed with covetous eyes at the country which is so richly endowed by the Creator. At the moment a new pair of eyes, those of a most powerful neighbor at the east end of Slovakia, is fastened acquisitively on the Prešov-Poprad area. It is our hope and prayer that the Slovaks will be able to turn this menacing gaze upward for conquest in space instead of foreign conquest at their expense.

### Slovak Contributions to the American Cultural Mosaic

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In recent years there has been a new awareness of the many and varied cultures which have gone to make the American cultural milieu a multi-faceted mosaic resplendent with the many faces of America. In past years the melting pot philosophy has given way to the philosophy of a pluralistic society within the concept of an American culture. Too often in the past generations only Anglo-American traditions have prevailed and have almost totally dominated the American educational experience. The dominance of Anglo-American ethnocentrism has shaped the entire history of this country. The question I would ask as an American of Italian and Slovak ancestry is whether a total concentration on the upper-class culture based in the northeastern section of the nation is a sufficient intellectual guide to actual American life, or to the character of the other cultures on this planet?

The phrase "common culture" has in recent years been used with more glibness than hard reflection. A culture is not put on like a suit of clothes. One can mimic a culture, absorb it, however, the culture does not flow out of one's own tutored instincts and aspirations, it is not yet one's own and does not yet exhaust one's own intelligence, perception or dreams. Thus for the non-Wasps—the White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestants, the millions of immigrants and their descendants—a majority of this nation have not been a part of the mainstream culture which springs from the heart.

There seem to be three main locations of culture in America today. The actual ways of life of ordinary people, in their diverse, loose and permeable communities are one location. The humanities are, in this sense, not primarily what is written down in books, or celebrated in works of arts, but what is lived. Those relatively few artists, scholars and critical persons in whom a genuinely high culture is alive are a second location. The swarming army of professionals, highly educated but not necessarily in tune with the high traditions of the past, are a third location. Among these new professionals are many who call themselves humanists. Each of these groups is to be taken seriously. Each enhances our own individual identity as an American cogniscant of American culture.

Victims of oppression have always looked upon migration to a land with a promise of freedom and equal opportunity as their mecca. In the late years of the last century in order to be free of social injustice, economic serfdom, or the threat of national liquidation, the oppressed peoples of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy looked toward the United States as a haven. Between 1879 and 1891 some 80,000 Slovaks emigrated from the counties of Abauj, Spiš, Zemplín, Šariš, Gemer, and Liptov and settled in America. By 1900 Slovakia, the ancient home of the Slovaks in Hungary, lost about 308,000 of its people to America. From 1910 to the beginning of World War I 34,000 Slovaks made America their home. In a word from about 1879 until 1918 Slovakia lost more than 550,000 people to America.

However, it must be remembered that many Slovaks were classed as Magyars or Austrians since few Americans knew of the existence of the Slovak, a western Slav who closely resembled the Pole or Czech, also western Slavs but who possessed affinities with the eastern Slavs—the Russians and Ukrainians. Thus the total number of Slovaks who entered America was probably close to 750,000. Have these many thousands of ordinary people, one of the locations of culture as I see it, contributed anything substantial to the culture of America? True, the vast majority of these immigrants, who left their ancestral home and all its romantic traditions, for a strange new life in the stone and asphalt deserts of industrial and mining America, were simple individuals not a part of an elite group of immigrants.<sup>1</sup>

As with all cultures, each develops endlessly complex individuals each with a world of its own both as individuals and as cultures. The Slovak contribution to American culture of the twentieth century has yet to be experienced by mainstream America for the Slovaks like other ethnics are today the White Negro—the decisively ethnic non-WASP whose cultural traditions and emotional feelings are the antithesis of WASP decorum and self-control.<sup>2</sup>

The Slovaks, like other ethnics, have remained in tightly-knit cultural and fraternal associations in the United States and unfortunately little if any of their contributions have received national acclaim. However, Slovak music, art and literature have been an enriching experience for hundreds of thousands of descendants of the pioneer generations who today are part of the American cultural mainstream.

Music, for example has played a major role in the life of any immigrant group, especially an oppressed group as the Slovaks were. The deepest feelings and the keenest appreciation of beauty on the part of the Slovaks are expressed in their songs. Singing is an everyday necessity for the hard working Slovak. Slovak folk songs which were an outgrowth of sacred music, have followed the general development of Western European music adopting the harmonic and rhythmic patterns of the West but in an altogether unconventional manner which maintained the peculiarities of the Slovak folk style. These Slovak folk songs have been preserved and perpetuated down through the generations here in America by the various Slovak American institutions and religious communities. These organizations and institutions have preserved these folk songs in their original Slovak and have on numerous occasions published translations of these folk songs. Most Slovak folk songs are written in a minor key and possess a fire and zest common to the Slav musical experience.

In 1950 the Rev. John J. Lach published the *Treasury of Slovak Folk Songs*, a collection of over one hundred Slovak folk songs translated into English with appropriate music. This was the first collection of Slovak folk songs which had been translated into English for the enjoyment of non-Slovak speaking Americans. True it was intended for those of Slovak ancestry whose lack of knowledge of their ancestral tongue hampered their total appreciation of the various Slovak folk songs which they had been exposed to since their childhood. More importantly this collection was aimed at the American musical public for

it would acquaint the music lover with the flavor and resonance of Slovak folk tunes.

In the mid 1950's the Congregation of the Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius of Danville, Pa., a Slovak-American teaching community dedicated to the enrichment and cultivation of Slovak culture and art among their students began to develop translations of popular children's songs native to Slovakia. This community, which taught in 13 American dioceses, saw the need of translating and in some cases transposing, existing Slovak folk pieces to suit the needs of their eight thousand students who were of Slovak ancestry in the various elementary and secondary schools entrusted to their care.<sup>3</sup>

Another important contribution which the Slovaks have made to American culture has been in the area of Slovak Church music. The Slovaks who are a very religious people, about 85% are staunch Roman and Byzantine Catholics with the remaining members of the Lutheran and Calvinist persuasions, brought with them a wealth of ecclesiastical music. Slovak church music reflected the injustice and vexation which were the lot of the Slovak at home under the Austro-Hungarian control. For centuries this music was forbidden even in Slovak Church worship in Slovakia because the insidious pressure to Magyarize all non-Magyar elements within Hungary even permeated religious circles. The philosophy of Magyarization led all non-Magyar elements to accept Magyar language, customs and culture as theirs in order to exist. Anyone not complying was banished from any position of authority in government.4 Thus this latent emasculation of Slovak national pride even within the realm of church worship brought forth a treasury of Slovak church music filled with all the sentiments of a subjugated people. Even after their emigration the Slovak wished to always recall his bitter struggle and servitude in the homeland.

Slovak churches, both Catholic and Protestant, sprang up both before and after the turn of the twentieth century. These 500 churches became the centers of the rich Slovak church music which were denied in the homeland of Slovakia.<sup>5</sup> Early attempts at translating these works into English began in the 1930's by Professor Eugene Suchoň, an American of Slovak ancestry. The two works which were

included in the 1934 edition of the St. Gregory's Hymnal were the lenten hymn "Oh Come and Mourn with Me Awhile" and a "Tantum Ergo" listed merely as an adaptation of a Slovak hymn.<sup>6</sup>

Among the most beautiful Slovak church pieces are the Christmas songs known as *koledy*. These songs are filled with an intimacy and childlike innocence and the listener finds himself clothed with a sublime delight while listening. The melancholy bursts into the fiery robust melodic-like quality in these beautiful musical works. Many of these have their origins in the early and late Middle-Ages. In 1965 the Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius offered the American public a collection of Slovak Christmas songs entitled *Bethlehem Carols* which was a translation of over fifty Slovak carols.

In 1966 this community under the direction of Sister M. James Tomko, SS.C.M. prepared a collection of a variety of translated Church pieces. Again the influence of Slovak folk life was evident and the influence of Eastern Church psalm tones blended to create some of the most beautiful songs of worship. Now the American Church public would adapt Slovak melodies to enrich their storehouse of appropriate church music. In 1964 the Rev. Florian J. Gall. director of ecclesiastical music for the Diocese of Trenton. composed a four-part mass entitled "A People's Hymn-Tune Mass" which was based on a Slovak "Adoro Te" melody. This mass was published by the Gregorian Institute of America. Another mass was published by Sister M. Paschal Valent, SS.C.M. entitled "A Mass in Honor of SS. Cyril and Methodius" based on Slovak church pieces. The World Library of Sacred Music in 1960 published a collection of twenty Slovak Christmas carols for three equal voices and for a four voice arrangement by Joseph Duriš, organist of the Benedictine Abbey Church of St. Benedict in Cleveland.7

Among the Lutheran congregations the Rev. John Zorňan published the translations of Slovak church songs in 1963. Dr. John Zorňan has translated many popular Slovak folk tunes and is published by the National Slovak Society of Pittsburgh, Pa.

A form of Slovak musical expression finds itself present in the Polka which has become almost at home in American as in Slav countries. The Polka which is generally associated with the Poles actually has its origin in Bohemia among the Czechs. The rhythmic quality of the Polka is found in many Slovak folk tunes especially from the high Tatra regions and Eastern Slovakia.

An experimental Mass written with distinctly Slovak Polka melodies was composed by the Rev. Alexander Blaško of Mineral Ridge, Ohio and was presented to an overflow crowd at St. Matthias Slovak Roman Catholic Church in Youngstown, Ohio on April 21, 1974. Entitled "A Mass for Christian Joy" the Mass was approved by the Bishop of Youngstown and its presentation has been repeated in several Slovak parishes in the Youngstown area. Here again a distinctly Slovak musical experience has found its way into American musical experience.

Thus Slovak music, whether it be of folk origin or church oriented possesses a distinct character of its own which has been handed down to the generations of Americans of Slovak origin. The importance of music in Slovak life was always eminent, since the Slovaks expressed their innermost feelings and emotions from cradle to grave in songs: their joys and sorrows, griefs and needs, the close affinity to nature, the eternal conflict of the elemental powers of good and evil, their loves and hates and their aspirations and shortcomings.

Contributions made by the Slovaks in the area of art are numerous but unfortunately because of provincial philosophies have been absent from academic circles in the United States. However my initial premise is that culture and in this case art may be found in the actual ways of life of ordinary people. One need only look in the attics of Slovak-Americans and find works of art abounding. Very popular among the Slovaks was the tradition of embroidery. Slovak folk costumes were a work of art which at times took entire lifetimes to complete and perfect. Both male and female costumes represented the individual village of origin in order that at a gathering of Slovaks one's particular village could at once be identified. Intricate geometrical and floral patterns, each with a particular significance, told a history of a particular village or mountain area. Richness of detail characterizes these works of art and rates them as distinct examples of Slovak folk art. These patterns have been handed down generation to generation and remain

with countless thousands of American families of Slovak ancestry. These patterns have had a certain resurgence in many styles found popular among youth groups and have come to be known as "peasant look" in many American cities.

Another area of folk art are the coloring of Easter eggs known as *Pisanky* or literally written designs. Although this custom is a Slav custom in general various Slav peoples have distinctive characteristics. Floral design patterns are distinctive of Polish Easter eggs. A distinctive characteristic of Slovak designs are simple angular designs using the symbols of the triangle, representing the Trinity; the circle, representing the immortality promised through Christ's resurrection; the various woven trims, representing the richness of life and the use of various colors, particularly red, symbolizing life, yellow, representing the brightness of the heavenly kingdom.

These eggs are taken along with other appropriately prepared foods—lamb, a mixture of beets and horseradish, ham, butter, salt, wine, the Easter bread, the Paska and the cheese, are taken to the church on Holy Saturday to be blessed by the priest in order that on Easter Sunday morning the faithful may partake of the symbolic foods of resurrection avoided during the traditional fast of years past. This custom continues to flourish in hundreds of Slovak churches throughout America today.

Among the more than three hundred Slovak Catholic and some two hundred Slovak Protestant churches many exemplify typical Slovak churches in architecture and interior design. Each has a distinctive Slovak folk characteristic either in its choice of symbolic designs and trims or in its choice of appointments and vestments each with intricate embroidery-like quality. Most noteworthy among American Slovak artisans is Dr. Joseph Cincík of Cleveland, Ohio who has designed numerous Slovak churches in the United States. His elongated figures with a blend of nortic and byzantine influence blend to form a distinctive Slovak art form. His most noteworthy achievement has been the Church of St. Benedict in Cleveland and the Church of SS. Cyril and Methodius in Lakewood, Ohio. The cathedral-like structure of the Lakewood, Ohio church has been transformed into a cavern-like structure ablaze with images and

scenes of religious life in Slovakia and the United States.9

Another gem of Slovak-American art and architecture is the motherhouse and chapel of the Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius in Danville, Pa. The magnificent stained glass windows depict the history of the Slovak immigrant in America with scenes of his labors in the mines and mills of this country. The windows depict the history and development of this community as well as that of the religious and cultural leaders among the early Slovak immigrants.

Several Slovak cultural centers in the United States offer the American public the opportunity to observe the jewels of Slovak folk art, painting, music and history. The Jankola Library located at the motherhouse of the Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius contains a large collection of Slovak folk art, painting, embroidery, crystal, and a vast collection of works on Slovak subjects. The center is named after the Rev. Matthew Jankola, founder of the congregation in 1909 and the founder of SS. Cyril and Methodius Church in Bridgeport, Conn. where copies of original paintings from the Basilica of St. Clement in Rome depicting the life and work of the Slovak apostles adorn the interior. This, as many other Slovak churches, depicts typical Slovak village life in Slovakia in its various paintings and appointments.

Another center of Slovak culture is the Jednota Museum located at the Jednota Estates in Middletown, Pa. Dedicated in 1972 the museum is operated by the First Catholic Slovak Union of the United States and Canada, a fraternal and cultural society with a national membership of over 100,000. Within the walls of the museum are numerous collections of Slovak folk art, tapestries, native costumes, memorabilia of Slovak fraternal societies, and a vast collection of Slovak works in the area of the humanities.<sup>10</sup>

Several other centers exist in Cleveland, Ohio, Youngstown, Ohio, at the campus of Wayne State University in Michigan and other centers are planned in Pittsburgh and Yonkers, N. Y. to be found under the ethnic-centers' bill introduced by Senator Richard Schweiker, Republican of Pennsylvania.<sup>11</sup>

The variety of cultural worlds in the United States is a powerful, subterranean influence in our national cultural life. It remains subterranean because it is often repressed, as though it were something dirty, disfunctional, and doomed to disappear. In its place, a "national" ideology has been created. True Black and Hispanic cultural achievements have been given prominence but true reality must represent the many and varied components which have gone to form the mosaic of American culture. It is with this thought in mind that I challenge the America that I know and love to discover the possibilities and the limits inherent in being what I am and openly display what heretofore my ancestors had disguised in silence. There is a new creativity and a new release, there is liberation and there is hope.

America is becoming America.

#### FOOTNOTES

- 1) Gilbert L. Oddo, Slovakia and Its People, (New York, 1960), p. 330.
- Michael Novak, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics, (New York, 1971), p. 145.
- 3) Mother M. Emerentia Petrasek, SS.C.M., The Congregation of the Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius, Told in Five Decades, (Danville, Pennsylvania, 1959), p. 110.
- 4) Oddo, p. 356.
- 5) Peter P. Yurchak, The Slovaks, (New York, 1947), p. 180.
- Joseph Paučo, Slovakia 1959, (Middletown, Pennsylvania, 1959), p. 68.
- 7) Michael Lacko, S.J., Slovak Studies VII, (Rome, 1967), p. 197.
- 8) John C. Sciranka, *Katolicky Sokol*, "Polka Mass in Youngstown, Ohio," (Passaic, N. J.), April 24, 1974, p. 15.
- 9) Philip A. Hrobak, Slovak Catholic Parishes and Institutions in the United States and Canada, (Middletown, Pennsylvania, 1955), p. 35.
- 10) Joseph C. Krajsa, "Jednota Museum Dedicated," Furdek 1973, (Middletown, Pennsylvania, 1973), p. 56.
- Joseph Paučo, Slovakia 1973, (Middletown, Pennsylvania, 1973), p. 165.

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### St. Cyril in Love

A boy in a well-to-do bedroom, wound in rich blankets, tufted wool, his head resting on the hand-stitched cover of a feather pillow,

bunched his legs to his chest and hugged himself tight as a spring, a boy with the mind of a man and the soul of a saint asleep in a curlicue like a baby in a cradle, not long since his mother's milk, her large, soft hands and wrap-around arms, her lullaby voice tucking him in.

The one woman he dreamed, Sophia, the only woman he ever wanted to pursue, had features he couldn't quite make out—a Roman profile, it seemed, the blank eyes of a Greek statue, but no distinct size or shape of nose and mouth, no color of iris or curve of the eyebrows, no crow's feet or squint lines, no identifying freckles or mole on her neck. She was like a lady one catches sight of in a marketplace and is struck by something in the walk, something about the fall of the hair over her shoulders, something, something that makes one think she is someone he knew a long time ago,

met among guest at a banquet strolled with on a Sunday afternoon, talked with outside the ruins of a temple, or fell in love with in his sleep. Something about her stride, something about the lilt of her hair,

sends him chasing after her, careening into the crowd, halting as if at a roadblock, then snaking through and breaking into a half-jog past men leading donkeys loaded with baskets, women balancing jugs on their heads, soldiers,

girls haggling at fruit and vegetable stalls, pickpockets,

children tussling and dodging the one who is "it" in a game of tag

or crouching to shoot pebbles into circles drawn in the dirt.

toddlers.

And in the hurly-burly and haste he never catches up.

The seven-year-old Constantine awoke, locked himself in his room in Thessalonica, read and searched, searched and read

( . . . the soul of man, the mind of God . . . ), sought the image of the lady, a rumor of her whereabouts.

The seven-year-old Constantine peered out his window, picked up his quill.

dipped it in the inkhorn,

made notes on a parchment scroll

till he was sixteen and best friends with a genius and holy man

as he went off to the imperial school to study grammar, rhetoric, logic, music, poetry,

astronomy, arithmetic, geometry,

theology and Scripture texts

( . . . poring over Homer, Helen . . . Luke, the Blessed Virgin . . . ).

Arm-in-arm with Gregory Nazianzen,

he pursued the icon lady, the come-alive statue in gold ornaments and jewels

into the shadows of Hagia Sophia, the cathedral, where the bell struck in the dome, and he was twenty-two.

There was no one he would marry,

no godchild of a chancellor,

not even with a hefty dowry and promise of a post at the emperor's court;

for, dropping into the bulging mother of a church one day for his accustomed visit,

he had stood transfixed before the gilded altar and mosaics recognizing, as if for the first time,

Mary the mother, speechless,

following her son through the jostling mob, along the cobblestones,

Veronica, aghast,

wiping His blood and sweat, then left with the imprint on her veil

of His smeared face and soggy, matted hair, the women of the city cuddling their babies and sobbing, suddenly hushed by Him—grateful— all these women in Jerusalem loving Him, hoping, believing far beyond death.

Constantine saw the visage of Sophia—
the look of the women, Veronica, Mary,
knowing the skull and crossbones, a rolled-back stone—
Sophia, Christ, in one wordless gaze.

So for years it was Maria Sophia and Mother Church as the philosopher fled from library to monastery then back to the public, a cleric in the chair of philosophy, the disputant with Arabs and iconoclasts, then off to hermitage again, until, at someone's beck and call, he left the monastery of St. Basil to join Methodius his brother on a mission to the Khazars. He converted hundreds of barbarians, freed Greek patriots, the booty of the Khan, journeyed through Fulla and chopped down a sacred oak engrafted with branches of a cherry tree,

traveled on to the Crimea, dug up an anchor and the bones of Pope Clement on an island just off the quarries and salt mines of Cherson, and returned to Byzantium.

But there was still something, something . . .

This woman, Sophia, who was always before him, this woman whose eyes were Mary's and Veronica's, whose smile was a calmed-down mother's on the way of the cross.

whose whole bearing breathed Scripture and liturgy, this mystical body,

still somehow eluded him.

She was always just ahead of him in the caravan, just beyond his grasp.

So often they were almost neck-and-neck, and then she would vanish—
Sophia, the spirit of a woman from another time,

Sophia, an angel, a puff of smoke, a whiff of incense, a cloud wafting off...

Something about Sophia, like a word, a sacrament, was not quite flesh and blood, not quite concrete.

Sophia, the one woman he dreamed, drew him to heaven but hid herself in the dust of horses' hooves.

Then a missive to Emperor Michael from Rastislav, prince of the rivers Morava and Váh,

called Methodius and Constantine to an alphabet, gospels, liturgical books, and an apostolate to the Slovaks.

For Constantine, Sophia was becoming more and more the gypsy—

the whim and will-o'-the-wisp of God.

The Tatry mountains, linden trees, fields of poppies . . . Young girls striking their foreheads to the gods, bearing wreaths of flowers and dancing at the altars of Lada,

tossing handfuls of flour into roadside bushes and shrubbery for Meluzina,

for Lada, goddess of beauty, for Meluzina, goddess of the wind . . .

Peasant mothers pulling their children away from the doorways

to hide their faces in the lacework of their aprons and the gathers of their skirts

against the lightning and storm, muttering charms against the thundergod Perun,

mumbling pleas to Morena and Živena, death and life, those goddesses, wanton as a scattering of pebbles underfoot.

whimsical as autumn leaves skittering across the fields...

These women with cocks and hearts, apples, tulips, and slit leeks

embroidered on their bodices and sleeves,

these women in lace caps and bonnets,

these flush-faced girls who stole behind haystacks and their white-washed cottages to sing,

these flush-faced girls, love-longing, who wove ribbons through their caps and danced,

these girls and women, earthy pagans, stopped and listened.

The men set aside their plows and haymows, laid down their hatchets and tools,

and, God knows why, heard Constantine,

mulled it all over as if weighing a bargain with a trader or considering the terms of a truce with an old foe, and turned to ask to be baptized.

And suddenly, like lightning cracking through a gray dead tree, it struck him:

there she was standing, fullface, bright-eyed and smiling, in front of a peasant's hut.

This phantom, this gypsy, this poppy,

Sophia . . . an old Slovak grandmother in a black kerchief, her face weatherbeaten with laughter and weeping.

It was as simple as that, mused Constantine-

Sophia, wisdom, was, had always been, a folkwoman humming and listening to the wind.

(A grandmother who was a mother rocking by a fireside, embroidering, tatting, telling stories,

a mother who was an apple-cheeked girl, fancy in flowers, ribbons and fine stitchery,

giggling, hiding-and-seeking, sighing, lovelorn,

an apple-cheeked girl who was a child dressed in hemp underwear, a wooly halenka, a linen blouse and pinafore,

a child squatting on the ground playing with dolls made of dried-out cornhusks.

a child who was a helpless infant, naked, nursed, and lulled to sleep . . . )

Constantine had followed Sophia and found her,

a toothless big-hearted grandmother,

a sage old matriarch

who taught her men to work, play, sing, survive catastrophe, to listen, learn, and lie down to dream.

Sophia, Christ, among the Slovaks . . .

Wisdom was the fondness with which he welled up,

the awe and tenderness with which he poured water over the peasant's brow.

whispered the words of baptism like sweet nothings and like a magic spell,

and traced with his thumb a cross.

This plain, unstudied wisdom-

a grandmother gumming dark bread, cabbage, cheese . . . This love—  $\,$ 

the sun, the wind, the land, the children, flesh and blood

This carnival of joy . . .

And Constantine was ready to go back to Rome, weakened, ill,

to take to a monastery, change his name to Cyril, and retreat into a rough-hewn cell, to doze off under thin covers on a hard cot and pass away in a curlicue like a baby in a cradle, the unwinding of a clock, the bursting of a chick from an eggshell.

### Sister M. Pamela Smith, SS.C.M.

Note: For many of the details of biography and the descriptions of costume, topography, and heritage, this poem is indebted to the following sources:

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# L'udovít Štúr and Slovak Cultural Nationalism

By Anthony X. Sutherland, Ph.D.

There have been few individuals in the history of any nation who have had as much impact on the course of their nation's development than L'udovít Štúr, the nineteenth century Slovak nationalist, philosopher, linguist, and revolutionary leader. Considered as the principal formulator of the Slovak national ideology, his ideas on the Slovak language and nation have influenced in some way every generation of Slovaks since his death. In fact, much of Slovak history is incomprehensible without a basic knowledge of štúr and his work. To some a re-examination of štúr's ideas might seem unwarranted in light of the several scholarly studies on him that have appeared. Unfortunately though, most of these were written in French or in Slavic languages leaving the English reader with very little. In addition, štúr has been frequently misunderstood in the West since most knowledge of him was based on his German book, Das Slawenthum und die Welt der Zukunft. which established him as a Russian political Panslav. Western historians have not done justice to štúr, failing to research his Slavic works or examine his life in its entirety.

In most East European nations nationalism appeared in two distinct phases, a cultural nationalism and a political nationalism. The first or cultural phase, lasting till about 1848, involved linguistic reform and cultural development; the second, political nationalism, beginning in 1848, was devoted to more political concerns such as the obtaining of cultural rights, economic and social reforms, as well as national independence. Štúr's career in Slovak national life was especially unique since, by becoming a participant in the Revolution of 1848, he was one of the first Slovak nationalists to move from mainly cultural concerns to active politics. Prior to the Revolution of 1848 štúr completed the reform of the Slovak language creating a medium of

written expression to be used by all Slovaks. Around the same time he founded the newspaper, *Národnje novini* and its literary supplement, *Orol Tatránsky*, to defend his linguistic reform and foster the concept of the individuality of the Slovak nation. It was mainly these ideas of štúr on the Slovak language and nation that have had most significance in Slovak history.

Štúr came from a Lutheran background.¹ He was born October 29, 1815 in Uhrovec, the son of Samuel Štúr, director of the state schools in the Trenčín district.² After attending local schools Ľudovít Štúr went to the gymnasium in Ráb and then on to the Lutheran Lyceum in Bratislava. Štúr's studies included history, linguistics, philosophy, as well as Magyar and German. Štúr also came into contact with many important Slovak intellectuals as Samo Chalupka and Juraj Palkovič. Štúr soon became instructor of Slavic languages and history at the lyceum.

In 1838-1839 Štúr continued his studies at the University of Halle in Germany. While at the University of Halle Štúr came under the influence of a certain Leopold Pec who stirred in him a love for Slavic history. These years were perhaps the most formative for the development of his thoughts. At Halle Štúr became acquainted with German Romanticism, especially with Herder's philosophy. He was also influenced by Hegel's philosophy, receiving lectures from the noted Hegelian, Johann E. Erdmann,3 From Hegelian philosophy štúr learned the importance of the "idea" as the moving force in all history. He interpreted the Slovak national movement according to the dialectic. believing all history followed certain historical laws. Štúr believed in the inevitable triumph of the Slovak nation. Magyar feudal society was then in a process of disintegration and would give way to the new rising Slovak middle class who would carry on the Slovak national revival.

Returning from Halle Štúr continued his teaching at the Lutheran Lyceum. Slovak cultural activities of Štúr's group were centered at this time in the Lyceum and in its Institute for Czecho-Slovak Language and Literature. During these years several societies were founded by Catholics and Protestants to promote literary development, the most famous being the Society of Lovers of Slovak Language and Literature which included in its membership such great Slovak personalities as Ján Kollár and Martin Hamuljak.

The principal issue confronting Slovak intellectuals at this time was the question of language. Slovaks during the first part of the nineteenth century were divided into two camps: Slovak Catholics adhered to the Slovak written language as codified by Anton Bernolák in the 1780s while Slovak Lutherans continued to use the Czech of the Kralice Bible and Hymn Book of Tranoscius used in the Lutheran Church. The question of language was a critical one for Slovak nationalism for the Slovaks could never hope to manifest any national unity while people continued to write in different literary forms. Some attempts were made to bring both schools to a working cooperation. In 1835 the almanac. Zora appeared which was intended to unify both Bernolák and Czech writers, but despite such manifestations of cooperation the language question remained unresolved. By the 1840s some members of the Bernolák school even considered returning to the use of a Slovakized Czech in their writings.4

The movement for national unification of language was led by Eudovít Štúr and the younger generation of Slovak intellectuals. These people felt that Slovak literature would never develop on its own but remain an insignificant part of Czech literature unless all Slovaks agreed on a common literary medium. The renewed Magyarization re-enforced the need to unify the nation. In 1844 the Hungarian Parliament voted to establish Magyar as the official language of the institution. This was followed by attempts to dissolve Slovak students societies and repress Slovak national life. In 1844 Štúr was dismissed from his teaching post at the Lyceum as a result of efforts to Magyarize protestant church institutions.

It was clear to štúr that for the success of any political movement against Magyar suppression it was essential to have a language that could be understood by the Slovak masses.<sup>7</sup>

Feeling there was sufficient interest at least among the Bernolák writers for cooperation on the language question, štúr set out to increase his contacts with the Slovak Catholic clergy in the Pazmaneum and Trnava seminaries.<sup>8</sup> He

visited Ján Hollý, the foremost Bernolák writer, and others in order to arouse interest in solving the language problem. In mid 1840s Štúr and his associates decided to begin work on linguistic reform. Philological meetings were held on the subject of codification at Hlboké in 1843 and in Mikuláš in 1844.

štúr's philological principles were finally accepted at a meeting at Čachtice in 1847. A year before, the work of codification was presented and defended in two books: Nárečja slovenskuo a potreba písaňja v tomto nárečí (1846) and Nauka reči slovenskej (1846). Štúr based the new literary Slovak on the Central dialect. This dialect was chosen on the belief that it was the purest of the dialects spoken, in addition to being the one spoken in the heart of the nation. Štúr wrote, "This means of our literary unity cannot be more natural than this language which is spoken in the center of our nation and which, as was already shown is the most genuine type and image of the old Slovak language and the most widely used in our nation, . . . it has its own real genius and is truly a Slovak language." <sup>10</sup>

In books, articles, and letters štúr strove vigorously to obtain recognition for the new written language by members of the Slovak intellectual community. These writings provided excellent arguments for the use of Slovak as a separate language. Štúr believed that the division of the Slovaks over the use of language had done great damage to the Slovak nation. It was a sign that the Slovak people had not "come to an awareness that they wanted to live as a nation." <sup>11</sup> Štúr maintained that the Czech used in the Lutheran Church would only "vegetate and become idle," <sup>12</sup> but the new Slovak would flourish and be used in schools, cities, and in all aspects of social life. <sup>13</sup>

Perhaps štúr's main argument for his reform of Slovak was that without a common literary language Slovaks could never produce their own literature. To support this štúr pointed to the example of the ancient Greeks. The Greeks were able to create many great works of literature and philosophy because they expressed themselves using their own dialects and were not forced to write in an artificially imposed language. Each of the famous Greek authors, štúr said, wrote in his own dialect, Sappho used the Aeolic dialect, Pindar the Doric, and Hesiod the Ion-

ic.¹⁴ Štúr repeated that the Slovak language was the key to an independent Slovak life which would enable them to produce great works. "This strong, unbreakable confidence in ourselves, in our own strength, in our own life is now expressed in our latest endeavors: to improve and raise our nation with our own dialect, with the language of our ancestors..." ¹⁵ It did not matter if the Slovaks were small in number, they were still capable of an independent life. Štúr wrote, "The Greek nation was small in number, great in deeds, in acts, in glory; the Chinese nation is enormous, 350,000,000 souls, but all this enormous nation is only a small part in the span of history, so to speak, a trifle in history and humanity." ¹⁶

štúr seemed to imply that a nation was of little value unless it experienced its own life as in the creation of literature. The presence of literature or other forms of culture was proof of a nation's own spirituality or intellectuality (duchovnost') and origin (kmeňovitost'). In Nárečia slovenskuo štúr wrote:

The origin (kmeňovitosť) or lineage of a nation is a beautiful, noteworthy sign for the nation, giving evidence of its powers of spirit and intellectual vitality; therefore, anyone aware of his nation's roots is granted the incentive to preserve and carefully nurture and cultivate it to the best of his ability. Such concern for a nation's origin cannot but develop the intellectual life of the nation and cause it to flower into a healthy, handsome tree.<sup>17</sup>

For štúr there were different degrees of this spirituality, the highest being that which manifested itself in culture. Štúr suggested that nations which did not display this spirituality were not worthy of history, for "only acts and deeds belong to history." <sup>18</sup> All nations possess some spirituality and have the powers to develop it, štúr added. <sup>19</sup> The Slavs have 'enormous ability or potential,' but as yet have not done much with it. <sup>20</sup>

The main principle in Štúr's philosophy was his concept of "life." <sup>21</sup> Štúr's writings contained many references to the "life of the nation" and the "spiritual life." Whereas Hodža and Hurban talked about "love of the language" and "love of the nation," Štúr spoke of "life of the nation" and language.<sup>22</sup> This notion of "life," however, did not have the simple meaning of merely something living but was used more in the orative sense, as in the production of culture.

The spirit (duch), which was the "essence of everything," <sup>23</sup> was present only in life, thus those who wanted to cultivate their spirit had to experience "life." <sup>24</sup>

štúr's writings revealed a close resemblance to the philosophy of Herder. This relationship between Herderian ideas and those of štúr have not been adequately dealt with. Dimitrij Čiževskij, the foremost authority on štúr's philosophy, hinted that Štúr's concept of "spirit" (duch) probably came from Herder.<sup>25</sup> A close inspection would show that many of štúr's ideas, particularly those of language, display a similarity with Herder. For Štúr, as with Herder, language was the main repository of a nation's characteristics and spirit, and provided the connecting link with past generations of the nation. Štúr asked, "What is closer to us, more part of us, more accessible than the natural language, than the language in which we all began to speak to the world, in which our present generation is joined, that language in which the spirit of our fathers lives, whose melodious voices resound in our valleys and hills and radiate our feelings, our thoughts of one mind, of one sentiment?" 26 According to Herder, language was the means by which a nation became a united entity; a nation without a language was a contradiction. In Die Beschwerden und Klagen der Slawen in Ungarn (1843) Štúr wrote, "Every nation is in the most fervid union with its own language ... Language is then the most certain sign of the essence and individuality of every nation ... a nation stands up as a nation only together with its language, without it, it would not be a nation; if it has its personal language, it is recognized as a nation..." 27 Likewise, Štúr wrote that the Slovak language was a symbol of Slovak unity.28 He said:

No nation can stand on its own feet unless it has the will to possess its own life, unless it understands that it is one nation, one moral personality... Our life and nation must be Slovak, the bond of this life must be the qualities and wealth of our nation, it must be then the language of our ancestors.<sup>29</sup>

The new literary Slovak was welcomed by many members of the younger generation of Slovak intellectuals. Štúr's letters showed his confidence in the ultimate victory of Slovak in being accepted.<sup>30</sup> Not all Slovaks, however, favorably received the new literary language. Štúr had to contend with several attacks on his work of codification

by Slovak Panslavs. Štúr anticipated this opposition and seemed to welcome it, seeing this as an opportunity to demonstrate the worthiness of his effort. In his essay, "Hlas proti hlasom," written in response to Kollár's attacks on Slovak, Štúr summarized his attitude towards the linguistic dispute. He wrote:

The Czech voices against slovenčina (Slovak language) have challenged us to this dispute. Everyone must defend his own things; who does not defend it, does not rely on it, does not want its victory, proves that he is not convinced of its truth. But we are highly convinced of the truth of our cause, it depends upon us that it endures, we want its victory, we are conscious of taking these steps with the most noble intentions, we accept then the dispute and with our own defense we will answer these attacks on our work. Our defense of this brings honor to our people and our nation; not to defend the honor of our nation or our honor is wickedness.<sup>31</sup>

štúr referred to Kollár's article, "Hlasové o potřebě jednoty spisovného jazyka pro Čechy, Moravany, a Slováky," attacking the literary Slovak as an "infamous disgrace of the Slovak language." 32 Nevertheless, Štúr denied he had any bitterness towards such opposition or desire to break off relations with them.33 It should be remembered that štúr was himself a Panslav, but whereas štúr maintained there were eleven branches or tribes in the Slavic nation (Great Russians, Little Russians, Bulgarians, Serbians, Croatians, Slovenes, Poles, Czechs, Upper Lusatians, Lower Lusatians, and Slovaks), Kollár claimed there were only four: Czech, Polish, Illyrian, and Russian. To Kollár Slovak was simply a dialect of Czech, together they formed a united nation or tribe, thus the raising of Slovak to a separate literary language destroyed for Kollár natural unity of the two peoples. On several occasions štúr denied that the use of a written Slovak would disrupt Slavic "mutuality" or "reciprocity" (vzájomnosť).34 Štúr did not recommend that every person write in his own local dialect but only if his dialect had its own individuality and purity.35 Štúr stressed Slavic unity, but wanted unity with diversity. He wrote, "Slavic life is varied as many branches on a linden tree, the nation is one, but one in diversity, so let this diversity be manifested in our spiritual life and in unity." 36 Each Slavic tribe (kmeň) by developing its own potential, using its own dialect would contribute to the greater glory of Slavdom.37

An important aspect of Štúr's cultural Panslavism was the search for the nation's spirit (*duch*). Every nation, Štúr emphasized, had to find its own spirit and then cultivate it. This quest for the nation's spirit led Štúr to investigate all aspects of Slavic life including Slavic folk poetry and songs.<sup>38</sup> In 1853 Štúr published a major work in Slavic folklore, *O národných povestiach a piesňach plemien slovanských*. Štúr considered the Slavs the most poetical and musical people in the world. Poetry or song was the peculiar Slavic way of expression. Whereas the Germans excelled in music, Romans in paintings, Greeks in sculpture, and Egyptians in architecture, "the Slavs poured out their soul and thought in tales, melodies and songs." <sup>39</sup> Poetry was viewed by štúr as a higher form of art since it more perfectly expressed one's spirit (*duch*).<sup>40</sup>

In his book, O národných povestiach a piesňach plemien slovanských, štúr presented a comparative study of Slavic folklore. One theme was selected, as love or loyalty, then was shown how it was expressed in the different Slavic dialects. Štúr concluded that all Slavic poetry from whatever tribe (kmeň) displayed a common character and gave evidence of spirituality among the Slavs. He said they revealed a common world view, a common mind and feelings although expressed in different dialects.  $^{41}$ 

In the late 1840s Štúr was drawn more into the political arena. Štúr's politics and activities during the Revolution of 1848 go beyond the purpose of this study, but it is important to explain how the revolution affected štúr's thinking on the Slovak language and national ideology. Many of Štúr's writings showed his growing concern over Magyar attacks on Slovak national life. In his essay, Starý i nový věk Slováků, štúr compared the glorious past of the Slovaks in Great Moravia with the servile conditions prevalent among the Slovaks in the nineteenth century. Štúr wrote: "A new terrible, painful age has begun for the Slovaks. The spark of Magyar hatred against the Slovaks has inflamed more and more strongly, and after succeeding ages they have ignited a flame and in the beginning of our age this flame has exploded." 42 It is reasonable to assert that štúr was not a real revolutionary by nature, and only when he saw the hopelessness of obtaining equality for the Slovaks did he resort to revolution. Before the revolution

štúr worked peacefully to gain recognition for Slovak cultural rights. In 1845 štúr traveled to Vienna and was favorably received by the Habsburg Archduke Louis and Austrian minister, Kolovrat.<sup>43</sup> Later during the revolution štúr sided with Habsburg rulers against the Magyars with the expectation of receiving political and cultural equality in reward. The failure of the revolution, the disappointment in not receiving the promises of national freedom changed štúr's outlook towards the Slovak problem. Štúr's discouragement was revealed in letters such as this. He wrote:

Germans promised us national equality after the victorious struggle, Magyars are beaten but equality has become a mockery. In place of the former ruling language of Magyar all have received equal rights for their language except the Slovaks. Slovak is condemned again to the lowest levels of life... it is relegated only to letters by the people and petitions from the people.<sup>44</sup>

The despair over the results of the revolution made Stúr believe that a small Slavic nation as the Slovaks could never expected the realization of its goals, thus its only salvation was to seek union with its Great Russian brothers. This was the theme of Stúr's book written in 1853, Das Slawenthum und die Welt der Zukunft, the first work of political Panslavism.

In the first section of this book Štúr examined the situation of the Slavic peoples and found them held everywhere in slavery either by the Germans, Magyars, or Turks. Slavs originally had their own states as Great Moravia, Samo's Empire, and the Serbian Empire, but all of these in the end had been destroyed. Under closer inspection it was seen by Štúr that the Slavs had always been weak and divided, for unlike the Germans, the Slavs had never developed the nation-state idea. The Slavs had been accustomed to ruling themselves democratically, and for this reason had been conquered so easily by the Huns, Petchenegs or others.

Nevetheless, štúr did not believe the situation was hopeless for the Slavs. As Hegel, štúr felt all history moved in an unbroken wave of progression, and thus the Slavs would have their age of glory. He said, 'just as every plant does not bloom at the same time in nature, so every nation will have its own time under the sun.' 48 štúr felt that if the Slavs were to take their place in history they would have to look for some new form of political organization.

štúr advanced three possibilities for the Slavs. The first possibility was a federated state with Western and South Slavs. Štúr rejected this alternative for several reasons. It would be impractical since many Slavs lived in areas highly mixed with non-Slavs. There would also be tension in certain regions between Slavic groups as between Poles and Russians in Galicia. 49 Religious differences could not be overlooked either. Slovaks were divided between Catholics and Lutherans, Serbs between Orthodox and Catholics.<sup>50</sup> The second alternative of Austroslavism, mentioned by štúr, was viewed as equally impractical. In an Austroslavic state Štúr said there would be little hope of cultural equality and a real danger of Germanization. In addition, there was always the threat of German colonization of Slavic districts. The third choice, and the one Stúr accepted, was the union of all Slavs into the Russian Empire. Only the Russians of all the Slavic peoples have been able to maintain their independence down through the centuries. They have been a light of hope to all other oppressed Slavs. Štúr asked, "Was it not Russia who enlivened our hopes, raised our sunken courage, lifted our dying desire for life? Was it not Russia who alone warded off the intolerable yoke of our peoples with positive help?" 51 Not only did he recommend political union of all Slavs in the Russian Empire but also advocated a return of all Slavs to the Orthodox Church and the acceptance of Russian as the common literary language.

štúr's program of political Panslavism appeared to stand in contradiction with many of his earlier thoughts. Before 1848 Štúr had fought for the recognition of Slovak as a separate literary language but in this book advocated the use of Russian as the common language of all Slavs. Some of štúr's attachment to Russia could be explained by remembering that he had always been a Panslay to some extent. He did agree with Kollár's idea of Slavic "reciprocity" and did talk about the development of the Slovak nation in context with a greater Slavic community. This however, was merely cultural Panslavism. Perhaps the best explanation for štúr's radical conversion to political Panslavism can be found in štúr's own romantic nature and his disappointment over the failure of the revolution of 1848. The outcome of the revolution was viewed by štúr as such a catastrophe that he saw no hope in the future

for an independent Slovak national life. The only viable alternative for the Slovaks if they were to survive at all would be to seek the protection of the Russians, one of the last remaining independent Slavic peoples. Had štúr lived longer (štúr died in 1856) it is open to question whether he would have continued to adhere to these doctrines of political Panslavism or again changed his ideas. This last phase of štúr's intellectual activity was really of secondary importance, and perhaps should not be taken too seriously. His work Das Slawenthum was published in Russia in 1867 but remained unpublished in Slovakia until 1931. It was his ideas from the period before 1848 on the Slovak language and nation that have had the most bearing on the development of the Slovak national ideology.

Although štúr's accomplishments were wide and varied. his reform of the Slovak language was his greatest achievement and the principal event in the history of Slovak cultural nationalism. The establishment of Slovak as an acceptable literary medium enabled the Slovaks to survive as an independent ethnic group. Without a common language Slovaks would most certainly have been more easily assimilated by Czechs or succumbed to Magyarization. It was partly due to štúr that language has remained the principal characteristic of Slovak national identity, overshadowing in importance even their common customs or common history. Language has continued to be the critical issue in the Slovak national struggle since štúr's time. štúr. too, through his efforts to gain recognition for the Slovak nation and language helped turn the direction of many members of the Slovak intelligentsia from the vague, if not unrealistic Panslavism to the more practical goal of the development of the Slovak nation itself. Štúr's ideology made it possible for the Slovak nation to take its rightful place along side the other Slavic nations and prevented the Slovaks from remaining as insignificant part of the Czech nation.

#### FOOTNOTES

- Most of the biographical information on Stúr was taken from: Milan Pišút, Karol Rosenbaum, and Viktor Kochol, "Literatúra národného obrodenia," *Dejiny slovenskej literatúry*, vol. II (Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1960), pp. 362-366.
- 2) L'udovít Stúr's father, Samuel Stúr, was born March 16, 1789 in

Lublin; moved to Uhrovec in 1813. He was the father of three sons, Karol, Ľudovít, and Samuel. Ľudovít Štúr's grandfather Pavol Štúr lived as a serf in Lublin. He died in 1827. Karol Goláň, "Ľudovít Štúr a slovenské národné hnutie v tridsiatych rokoch 19. storočia." Ľudovít Štúr: Život a dielo, 1815-1856 (Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1956), pp. 18-20.

- 3) See Dr. Dimitrij Čiževskij, *Štúrova filozofia života* (Bratislava: Spisy slovenskej učenej spoločnosti, 1941), p. 74.
- 4) Ľudovít Holotík, and others, *Dejiny Slovenska*, vol. I (Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1961), p. 517.
- 5) Ibid., p. 517.
- Július Botto, Slováci: Vývin ich národného povedomia, vol. I (Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1906), p. 47.
- 7) Dejiny Slovenska, p. 518.
- 8) Jozef Butvin, Slovenské národnozjednocovacie hnutie (1780-1848) (Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1965), pp. 219-220.
- 9) Ibid., pp. 253-254.
- Ľudovít Štúr, "Hlas proti hlasom," Výbor zo spisov Ľudovíta Štúra (Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1931), pp. 82-83.
- 11) Ibid., p. 39.
- 12) Letter of L'udovít Štúr to František Strakovič, Listy L'udovíta Štúra, vol. II, ed. Dr. Jozef Ambruš (Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1956), Letter No. 231. Štúr, "Neopúšťajme sa," Výbor zo spisov L'udovíta Štúra, p. 39.
- 13) Štúr, "Neopúšť ajme sa," ibid., p. 40.
- 14) Štúr, "Nárečia slovenskô," Výbor zo spisov Ľudovíta Štúra, pp. 100-102.
- 15) Štúr, "Neopúšťajme sa," ibid., pp. 38-39.
- 16) Ibid., pp. 43-44.
- 17) Štúr, "Nárečia slovenskô," ibid., p. 102.
- 18) Quoted in Čiževskij, p. 36.
- 19) Ibid., p. 36.
- 20) Quoted in Čiževskij, p. 38.
- 21) Ibid., pp. 14-15.
- 22) Ibid., p. 15.
- 23) Štúr, "Nárečia slovenskô," ibid., p. 111. Čiževskij, p. 40.
- 24) Quoted in Čiževskij, p. 41.
- 25) Ibid., p. 44.
- 26) Štúr, "Hlas proti hlasom," ibid., p. 80.
- 27) Quoted in Butvin, p. 279.
- 28) štúr, "Neopúšťajme sa," ibid., p. 44.
- 29) Ibid., p. 39-40.
- 30) Letter of Štúr to Samo Bohdan Hroboň, Listy II, Letter No. 194, 195. Letter of Štúr to Martin Hamuljak, Listy, vol. III, Letter No. 397.

- 31) Štúr, "Hlas proti hlasom," ibid., p. 77.
- 32) Letter of Štúr to Andrej Sládkovič, Listy I, Letter No. 238.
- 33) Letter of Štúr to Michal M. Hodža, Listy I, Letter No. 182. Štúr, "Hlas proti hlasom," ibid., pp. 83-84.
- 34) Štúr, "Hlas proti hlasom," ibid., pp. 105-123.
- 35) Štúr, "Nárečia slovenskô," ibid., p. 103.
- 36) Ibid., pp. 103-104. Elena Várossová, "Svetonázor Ľudovíta Štúra," Ľudovít Štúr: Život a dielo, pp. 102-103. Čiževskij, pp. 45-46.
- 37) Štúr, "Hlas proti hlasom," *ibid.*, p. 84. Štúr, "Nárečia slovenskô," *ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

  Kollár's view in this regard is very similar to Štúr's. The only difference was that Kollár recognized only the Czech, Russian, Polish, and Illyrian tribe while Štúr recognized eleven including Slovak. Kollár wrote, "Each dialect should create new vital powers for the other tribes, to rejuvenate, build, and enrich the other, nevertheless it would not touch the other tribe or be touched itself, but all the rest would continue to maintain their own free sphere." Johann Kollar, *Ueber die literarische Wechselseitigkeit* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1844), p. 6.
- 38) Štúr's own poetry was typical of cultural nationalism. His two major poetical works, Svätoboj and Matúš z Trenčína concerned old Slovak heroes. Their structure and thematic development resembled the epic poems of Ján Hollý. See Pišut, pp. 372-373. Ľudovít Štúr, Spevy a piesne (Prešporok, 1853), the poem Svätoboj, pp. 9-31 and Matúš z Trenčína, pp. 35-93.
- 39) Ľudovít Štúr, O národných povestiach a piesňach plemien slovanských (Turčiansky Sv. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1932), p. 9.
- 40) Ibid., p. 16.
- 41) Ibid., p. 240.
- 42) Ľudovít Štúr, Starý a nový věk Slováků (Bratislava, 1935), p. 19.
- 43) Botto, p. 60. Letter of Štúr to Ctiboh Zoch, Listy II, Letter No. 251.
- 44) Letter of Štúr to Ismail Ivanovič Sreznevskij, Listy II, Letter No. 316.
- L'udovít Štúr, Das Slawenthum und die Welt der Zukunft (Bratislava, 1931), p. 19.
- 46) Ibid., p. 29.
- 47) Ibid., p. 32.
- 48) Ibid., p. 49.
- 49) Ibid., pp. 164-165.
- 50) Ibid., pp. 165-167.
- 51) Ibid., p. 192

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# Before Life's Stirring . . . and Beyond the Grave

In one of our loved Slovak folk ballads we sing:

Love! O Love! Dear God, where do we people get you, Love? You neither grow on sweeping hillsides nor do they sow you in the planted fields!

And when it comes to the subject of a mother's love, there is no beginning nor will there ever be an end to the countless poetic tributes that this topic inspires. It is a love that develops even before a child's conception and it endures long beyond the grave. It is a love that comes closest to the Creator's own . . . and closest to the created.

Let us briefly consider one of its manifestations.

There once lived an ordinary simple Slovak mother who cherished a genuinely profound love of God and neighbor. She had a typically hard life, and she struggled along valiantly, comforted by the privilege of bringing ten children into this world. In the proverbial sweat of her brow and by dint of heroic effort, often at the cost of such extreme self-denial that it bordered on near-starvation, she nurtured her brood, trained her children and brought them up to serve their God and their country faithfully.

And all along, day by day, the relentless hardships of life and the taxing demands that were made upon her as a wife and mother began to consume the candle of her life at both ends. She was not unaware of the waning of her energies; she sensed the approach of the last breath of her life, the final beat of that generous heart of hers that had meted out unstinted love, devotion and sacrifice as only an ideal mother can give it.

She kept the premonition of her declining a deep personal secret. She felt the approach of death but she bravely fulfilled her daily tasks without complaint until utter exhaustion finally put her to bed where she suffered patiently until death finally snapped the thread of her life. After her funeral, her children found her will. Her weak and trembling hand had written it on a bit of paper in the intimate expression of her own tender eastern Slovak dialect which defies exact translation:

My dearest ones—my husband, children and Mother. My limbs grow weak and helpless... my breath is labored now... I have no way of knowing whether I shall have time to bid you all a loving farewell or not. But when I do go, do not mourn for me too greatly, for all of us must one day go beyond the point of return to this life. I ask you, instead, to pray for me. And so, God be with you, good-bye. May the dear Lord bless you.

I have fifty dollars saved in the bank. Use that to have Masses offered for my soul. A hundred dollars are saved up in a box at home. Fifty dollars of that is to go for Christine's dowery, and the other fifty is for Tom's high school graduation outfit—a new suit, shoes, shirt, hat, under-clothing and socks.

We generally claim that there is no love that can match the extreme or supreme sacrifices often made on behalf of family, children, nation or friend. And what commentary can we offer in the case of the mother whose sentiments are embodied in the lines quoted above?

How many of us have ever witnessed a greater love and concern, a lovelier and a fairer sharing of a charmingly modest accumulation of this world's goods, representing the gross sum of hard earned and lovingly reserved savings of a hard lifetime amid scant blessings in material assets? Has there been at death's door another such remembering of significant and memorable events to come in the lives of others?

We must admit that it is not often so. Very often we share in glorious eulogies—odes and panegyrics, resounding accounts and distinguished documentation of the achievements and deserts of great men—rulers, deserving statesmen, soldiers, philosophers and scholars—all individuals of renown.

Yet this simple great-souled mother excels the merits and the glory of the famed and glorified, of the great figures of heroic stature. Unassuming and charming, simple and limitless in self-sacrifice in all her lifetime... she is compellingly beautiful, loving, and most touchingly thoughtful even in the extreme hour of death... concerned with a movingly loving solicitude and personal measure of sacrifice

to make it possible for her dear children to be assured of the extra details that will add to the personally momentous events in their young lives. Even in death, she reaches out with her undying maternal love.

It must be added that these were the delicate lineaments that distinguished the mother of our late Peter P. Yurchak, former President of the Slovak League of America, an outstanding Slovak jurist earlier in our time. She was Mary Yurchak, one among the many superlatively motherly, solicitous ideals of Slovak womanhood, exemplary in marriage and family ties, eminently outstanding as mothers in their homes—the rare blessing and blessedness with which God has so generously endowed so many of our Slovak young people even to our day.

These then are among the rare gifts committed to us by the provident love of our Heavenly Father, but—most unfortunately and regrettably—it is a heart-breaking tragedy of our times that some unthinking modern Slovak young people fail to value and appreciate these crown jewels of God's own goodness and blessing to us.

The unchangeable mandate HONOR YOUR FATHER AND MOTHER, has a unique applicability and value for children of Slovak parenthood and ancestry.

(Translated at Jankola Library)

THE AIMS OF THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA ARE:

To promote education among the Slovaks in America;

To encourage them to become alert and loyal citizens of the United States;

To advance the Slovaks in the United States and elsewhere morally, economically, socially and politically;

To promote and support cultural, civic, and charitable projects for the benefit of its members.

No member of the communist party or of any organization recognized as subversive under the laws of the United States can become a member of the Slovak League of America.

# Scientific Literature by Slovaks Abroad\*

J. M. Kirschbaum

In the three waves of émigrés who left Slovakia since the end of the Second World War, there have been many more scientists and a greater number of books published from various scientific fields than is generally known. The Slovak press abroad, including almanacs and kalendars, paid attention mostly to books, essays and articles which deal with humanities and social sciences or, in other words, with history, political science, philology, philosophy, theology, and so on.

The vast field of applied science usually escaped the attention of the Slovak press abroad, except for the names and works of some scientists whose participation in international congresses or the results of their research were recorded on the pages of Slovak newpapers. Sometimes, the Slovak press, including periodicals, ignored even works from the field of history and political science if they dealt with Slovakia only indirectly. For instance, a successful book by Dr. Štefan Osuský, The Way of the Free, (New York, 1951), which was published also in Italian and Japanese translations, was never reviewed in Slovak publications. Another interesting book, The United States and Central Eastern Europe, by Prof. V. Mamatey (Princeton University Press, 1957), and his essay on Woodrow Wilson's policy, did not receive the attention they deserved. A number of books by Prof. Eugen Löbl, published in German and English, also remained known only to a limited number of Slovak intellectuals abroad, even though they attracted the attention of scholarly publications and political circles in Europe and on the American Continent. Theological and historical writings by Msgr. Joseph Tomko, well received

<sup>\*</sup> A summary of a paper delivered at the General Meeting of the Slovak World Congress on June 28, 1973 in Chicago, Ill.

by critics in Europe, are also much less known among Slovaks than they deserve.

The responsibility for the fact that scientific literature by Slovaks abroad is unknown, quite often to Slovaks themselves, lies in the first place in the lack of any organization of Slovak scientists and cultural workers. The Association of Slovak Writers and Artists undoubtedly deserves recognition for keeping alive Slovak literature abroad in one of the most crucial periods of Slovak literary life. The members of the Association are, however, mostly poets, writers and authors of books from political and literary history. The Slovak Institute in Cleveland and Rome performs the meritorious function of a library, and publishes especially in the field of humanities or belles lettres. Since scientists from the vast field of applied sciences remained unorganized, they have no publication which would record the results of their research or publish reviews of their writings.

Two bibliographies — *Slovak Bibliography Abroad* 1945-1965, compiled by Prof. M. Lacko, and *Literárny Almanach Slováka v Amerike*, edited and published by Dr. J. Paučo in 1967 and 1968, contain some basic information on Slovak scientists and their work abroad. They do not, however, give an exhaustive picture either of Slovaks active in various scientific disciplines or of their published writings. Besides, since 1967, when the Bibliography and Almanachs were published, the ranks of Slovak scientists were enlarged not only by those who left Slovakia in 1968 and became active in academic life or scientific research, but also by a new generation of graduates of American, European and South American universities who made science their field of professional activity.

The largest number of books, essays and articles in foreign languages by Slovaks abroad, covers the disciplines which belong to the category of the humanities and the social sciences. It is especially history, political science, literary history and philology which were cultivated by Slovak intellectuals abroad and attracted the attention of the Slovak press in a greater degree that other disciplines. While in 1945 there was hardly a book in foreign languages on Slovakia and the Slovaks, today there are a number of

book, essays and articles in foreign language periodicals which have been accepted by critics in Europe as well as on the American Continent as "standard works." The names of the authors in this field are better known, as I mentioned, than the names of scientists in other fields. In alphabetical order, we should mention at least those who published their writings in book form.

In History: Š. B. Buc, V. Bucko, J. Cieker, J. Cincík, K. Čulen, F. Ďurčanský, M. St. Ďurica, A. Grébert, Š. Glejdura, F. Hrobák, F. Hrušovský, J. M. Kirschbaum, M. Lacko, J. Lettrich, A. Macek, V. Mamatey, J. A. Mikuš, Š. Náhalka, J. Paučo, M. Stolárik, J. Tomko, F. Vnuk, G. Woytko and others.

In Literary History and Linguistics: Prof. H. Bartek, J. M. Kirschbaum, J. Konuš, I. Kružliak, M. Lacko, J. Lihani, L. Lužbeták, S. Mečiar, J. Mešťančík, A. Pír, C. Potoček, J. Rekem, J. Vavrovič, F. Vnuk, J. E. Bor-Zaťko.

In Social Sciences: F. Ďurčanský, Š. Glejdura, J. M. Kirschbaum, E. Löbl, J. Mikuš, Š. Polakovič, Š. Osuský, J. Rudinský, J. Staško, James Zaťko, T. G. Zúbek.

All these names, except for Lužbeták who published essays on the language of the residents of New Guinea, are generally known to the Slovak press. As far as Prof. M. Novák is concerned, we should perhaps mention that this author published a dozen books from the field of theology, philosophy and other social sciences, but he became well known to Slovaks a few years ago when he wrote about his Slovak origin in his successful book: *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*. There is no doubt that as time passes, we will have other similar cases among American Slovaks.

The number of published books, essays and articles of the above-mentioned authors would amount to hundreds, the major part of which has been recorded in Lacko's Bibliography and in the two issues of the Literárny Almanach Slováka v Amerike. Books and essays of some authors were recorded, however, also in bibliographies published in Germany, the United States and Canada.\* Bibliographies

<sup>\*</sup> Daniel Dorotich, A Bibliography of Canadian Slavists, University of Saskatchewan (1972); Südosteuropa Bibliographie (Munich, 1934); A. Gregorowich, Canadian Ethnic Bibliography (Toronto, 1972).

published in Slovakia — and there is a considerable number of them — did not, of course, mention books by Slovaks abroad except for one or two authors.

Scientific works from the field of philosophy, theology, and religion in the broad sense of the word follows in the number of published books and articles on history and the social sciences. The important center in this respect has been Rome where a great number of foreign language studies were published by professors of universities in the eternal city. Among the best known are Prof. Daniel Foltin. M. Lacko, Félix Litva, Š. Náhalka, V. Pavlovský, Š. Porubčan, F. škoda, š. Smržík, J. Tomko, F. Zeman and others. Rome will be remembered also for the series of Slovak Studies published by the Slovak Institute and edited by some of the above mentioned authors. On the American Continent we have to mention especially the writings by the well-known theologian, Prof. Jaroslav Pelikán, J. Dieška, Ľ. Gleiman, K. Murín who published some of his studies also in France, Prof. F. Zeman, A. Záň, T. G. Zúbek and Prof. J. Papin who became known as the editor of two volumes of papers delivered by prominent theologians at a symposium organized at Villanova University.

The least known among Slovak intellectuals abroad remained those active in applied science even though a number of Slovak scientists excelled in this field. The Bibliography compiled by Prof. Lacko recorded about 300 items published before 1965 in book form or as contributions to scientific periodicals and symposia. The Bibliography gives the names only of twenty authors. There is no doubt that already before 1965 and since that time, many more Slovaks made their name in these disciplines, especially in the United States, Canada and Europe. An interesting example in this respect is the successful book: Reliability Theory and Practice by Igor Bazovský, published in Prentice-Hall Space Technology series in 1962. The book was published the same year in Japan, in 1965 in the Soviet Union, in 1966 in France, and in 1969 in Italy. Translations into other languages are in course of preparation. Bazovský also published a number of studies in scientific periodicals and delivered papers at international conferences and congresses. Since 1963, he has been lecturing on Reliability Engineering at the University of Arizona, Tuscon, Arizona.

Another example of a successful Slovak scientist hardly known among Slovaks is Prof. John P. Zúbek (born in Slovakia in 1925), who made quite an impressive contribution in psychology as a professor, researcher and author of many academic papers. In cooperation with Peter A. Solberg, Prof. Zúbek published two books: Doukhobors at War (1952) and Human Development (1954). His list of published scholarly articles and contributions to scientific periodicals and encyclopedias which he prepared alone or in cooperation with known scientists, contains 49 items. Together with T. J. Meyers, he has prepared a symposium: Censory Deprivation recently published in New York. He came to Canada at the age of 5 and was educated first at the University of British Columbia and later at the University of Toronto and at John Hopkins University. From 1950 he held academic positions at McGill University and the University of Manitoba as professor and chairman of the Department of Psychology.

No doubt there are other similar cases. The number of Slovak scientists active in various disciplines from astronomy to nuclear physics who were not recorded by Slovak periodicals and newspapers would be surprising. Among those who are well-known through the Slovak press we have to mention Prof. A. Bugan, Prof. G. Bakoš, Dr. J. Barboriak, Prof. J. Fabianek, G. Lazarčík, Prof. Július Rudinský, Prof. Otto , Anna Širek, Prof. A. Žitnák and others.

The writings and names of many others remained unnoticed by the Slovak press even though they have been recognized by international scientific authorities. Writings by Slovak scientists active in applied science were mostly published in English, French, German and Swedish (Milan J. Šimák) in scientific periodicals and occasionally also in book form.

This survey does not aim, of course, at the evaluation of scientific works by Slovaks abroad. The fact that many of them were published in academic periodicals of well-known universities, scientific institutions, or were delivered at international congresses and published in symposia, is perhaps sufficient proof that they satisfied scientific criteria.

Works by several Slovak authors were, however, reviewed and favorably evaluated also by foreign critics in the United States and Europe, and the list of books of some Slovak writers is impressive.

Prof. Michael Novak, whom the senior class at Stanford voted in 1967 one of the three most outstanding professors and in 1972 "distinguished lecturer" at the University of California, Santa Barbara, is the best known American Slovak author. He also taught at Harvard University epistemology and ethics. The list of his publications reads as follows:

## BOOKS

A New Generation: American and Catholic (Herder & Herder: February, 1964). A collection of essays on American Catholicism.

The Open Church: Vatican II: Act II (Macmillan: May, 1964).

The Experience of Marriage (Macmillan: Oct., 1964). Editor.

Belief and Unbelief (Macmillan: 1965). Paperback edition published by New American Library, 1967. There is also a German edition.

The Rise of Unmeltable Ethnics (Macmillan, 1972).

A Book of Elements, with Karen Laub-Novak (Herder & Herder, 1972). A Time to Build (Macmillan, 1967).

American Philosophy and the Future (editor.). To appear. (Scribner's, 1968).

ASCENT OF THE MOUNTAIN, FLIGHT OF THE DOVE: An Invitation to Religious Studies (Harper and Row, 1971).

POLITICS: Realism and Imagination (Herder & Herder, 1971).

Mr. Novak's books have appeared in overseas editions since 1962: France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Spain and England.

# CHAPTERS IN BOOKS

- Spirit as Inquiry ed. Frederick E. Crowe; Studies in honor of Bernard Lonergan, S. J. "Lonergan's Starting Place; The Performance of Asking Questions," pp. 82-101. Also in Continuum, Winter, 1965.
- "God in the Colleges: The Dehumanization of the University," in *The New Student Left*: An Anthology, Ed. by Mitchell Cohen and Dennis Hale, Beacon Press, Boston: 1966, pp. 258-270. Also in *American Colloquy*, Ed. by Leonard Liek and David Hawke, Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis: 1963, pp. 690-702. Reprinted also in *Commitment Vol.* 1, 4 (Nov. 22, 1966), pp. 1-7.
- "Moral Society and Immoral Man," in *Church-State Relations in Ecu*menical Prospective. Ed. by Elwyn A. Smith, Duquesne University Press, Pittsburgh: 1966, pp. 92-109.
- "The New Nuns," (abridged version) in The New Nuns, ed. by Sister

- M. Charles Borromeo, C.S.C., New American Library, New York: 1967, pp. 13-30.
- "The Christian and the Atheist," in *The Meaning of the Death of God*, ed. by Bernard Murchland, Random House, New York: 1937.

# MONOGRAPHS

- Editor of series of booklets Men Who Make the Council (portraits of Vatican II leaders), University of Notre Dame Press, 1964.
- A Lay View of the World We Live In; Reflections on the Institutional Church; The Gospels and the World. Chicago: Mundelein College, Sisters of the BVM, 1966, 67 pages.
- Vietnam: Crisis of Conscience. New York: Association Press, Behrman House, and Herder & Herder; in collaboration with Robert McAfee Brown and Abraham Heschel, 1967.
- The Secular Saint, DeYoung lectures given at the Illinois State University March 29.31, 1967; to appear.
- "Toward a Positive Sexual Morality," in What Catholics Think About Birth Control, ed. by William Birmingham, Signet, 1964, pp. 109-128.
- "The Ever-Changing, Fallible Church" in *Generation of the Third Eye*, ed. by Daniel Callahan, Sheed and Ward: 1965, pp. 162-172.
- "Diversity of Structures and Freedom Within Structures of the Church," in Concilium Dogma Vol. 1 The Church and Mankind, ed. by Edward Schillebeecky, O.P., Paulist Press: 1964, pp. 103-113.
- "The Break with Platonic Religion," The Church in the World, ed. by John Deedey, 1965.

Prof. Eugene Löbl (also Loebl), who teaches economics at Vassar College, has an interesting career behind him in Government service of Czecho-Slovakia which ended in his five years solitary confinement by the Communist regime. After the Soviet invasion he left Slovakia and lectured in Germany, and in the United States at Princeton and some twenty American universities before he settled at Vassar College, where he teaches "Critique of Theory and Practice of Marxist Thought," "Man and Society" and "Humanistic Economics." Among his writings published in exile are the following:

In 1967, Dr. Löbl's manuscript, prepared while in solitary confinement, was published under the title, *Mental Work as the Real Source of Wealth* in: Czecho-Slovakia by the Academy of Science. In Germany, by Econ Verlag, Düsseldorf under the title *Geistige Arbeit die wahre Quelle des Reichtums*.

He also published an analysis of the Soviet trials. In Czecho-Slovakia, the book was published shortly before the Soviet invasion and became a bestseller. It has been translated and published in:

AUSTRIA by Europa Verlag under the title: Die Revolution Rehabilitiert ihre Kinder (The Revolution Rehabilitates its Children).

BRAZIL, by Editora Laudes, Rio de Janeiro.

FRANCE, by Editions Stock under the title: Procès à Prague.

GREAT BRITAIN, by Elek Publishing Company under the title: Sentenced and Tried.

ITALY, by Vallecchi Editore under the title, Testimonianza sul processo al centoro do conspirazione antistate capeggiatto da Rudolf Slansky.

JAPAN, by Tuttle.

UNITED STATES, by Grove Press under the title, Stalinism in Prague, The Loebl Story.

Further, an analysis of the background of the Prague spring has been published in:

Austria and Germany by Europa Verlag under the title: Die Intellectualle Revolution. It was also published in Izrael.

Dr. Löbl's book, dealing with the problems of the student movement in the United States in the sixties, and exposing their philosophical shortcoming as the roots of the problems of contemporary society, has been published in:

AUSTRIA and GERMANY by Econ Verlag, Düsseldorf under the title: Gespräche mit den Ratlosen.

GREAT BRITAIN, by Allen and Unwin under the title: Conversations with the Bewildered.

UNITED STATES, by Schenkman in Boston under the same title.

An analysis and confrontation of theory and practice of applied Marxism has been published in:

GERMANY, by Econ Verlag under the title: Marxismus Wegweiser und Irrweg (Marxism the Signpost and Dead End).

His manuscript on "A Few Blades of Grass," a recollection is being edited for publishing in 1974.

Economics and Our Future, a critique of contemporary economics and an outline for a humanistic orientation of the economy, is in print in Germany. The English manuscript is being edited.

Prof. Msgr. Jozef Tomko, who alternatively taught at the International University of Social Sciences, the Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana and Diplomatic Academy in Rome, is foremost Slovak scholar in Rome. His works in Latin and German were reviewed in several European countries. He also published in Slovak. Among his foreign language works we should mention the following:

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Il rapporto di lavoro in Cecoslovacchia negli anni 1945-1954, Roma, 1956. Die Errichtung der Diözesen Zips, Neusohl und Rosenau (1776) und das königliche Patronatsrecht in Ungarn, Wien, Herder, 1968. It was reviewed in Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht, Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, Theol.-prakt. Quartalschrift Linz, Archiv für Kirchenrecht, Südostdeutsches Archiv, Bollettino bibliografico internazionale, Bibliographica de Salamanca.

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Matrimoni misti, Napoli, Edizioni Dehoniane, 1971. The book was reviewed in La Civiltà Cattolica, Apollinaris, La Famiglia, Rassegna di teologia, L'Osservatore Romano, Avvenire, La liberté (Fribourg), Theologische Revue, Catholic Herald (London), etc.

Svetlo národov (The Light of Nations), Rome, 1972. Blaženstvá, (Rome, 1973).

Krest'an a svet (Christian and the World), Rome, 1974.

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"Aspetti teologici della problematica dei matrimoni misti," in La collegialità episcopale per it futuro della Chiesa, Firenze, Vallecchi, 1969, pp. 445-479.

"Il matrimonio dei battezzati non credenti," in *Matrimonio famiglia* e diverzio, Napoli, Edizioni Dehoniane, 1971 (Second edition 1973), pp. 347-367.

"De Sacra Congregatione pro Doctrina fidei," in *Adnotationes Professorum*, Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, Cursus renovationis canonicae, Roma, 1971, pp. 411-426.

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# WINNING ESSAYS

# Slovak League of America Scholarship Program

I.

# HISTORY AND TRADITION OF WOODEN HOUSES OF SLOVAKIA

Paul Fialkovic

Consciously or unconsciously, man looks with satisfaction upon that which is substantially and enduringly built. It is this sense of sheer structural value which makes us admire the Pyramids, the Temples of Greece, and the mighty Cathedrals of the thirteenth century. The same instinct communicates to every observer, even the most casual, the bluff and rugged strength of our old houses; and he who knows these ancient dwellings more intimately. Perhaps through having been fortunate enough to live in one of them, one is keenly and sensitively responsive to the security and the abundance of strength which they embody.

The houses are mighty frames of oaken timbers. These timbers, which measure 16 and even 18 inches, have stood unshaken for two centuries or more. By comparison, the frame house of today is built of 2 by 4 studs which must be sheathed with inch boards to impact to the framework the practicable modicum of rigidity.

Today, architects are hired to design luxuriously constructed houses. Tradition carried down the knowledge of construction and building of their domain from father to son. The use of crude tools, knowledge, and materials of yesterday contribute to the Slovak pride given to us by our forefathers.

Truth is the fundamental principle of Architecture. Of the many Architectural Styles, which have at one time or another achieved popularity, those memorable few which most creditably bear the test of time are precisely the ones which reflect, faithfully and without distortion, the economic and social conditions out of which they sprang. An Architectural Style, if it is to be true, vital, and enduring, must clearly and candidly exhibit the spirit of the time in which it flourished, the spirit which is implicit in all the characteristic transaction of the time, and which may almost be defined as the sum of its manners, customs, and mode of living.

The early Architecture of Slovakia, judged by this criterion, was unmistakably pure and virile. The most superficial examination of the period is enough to prove that it was productive of a "true" style in Architecture. Its buildings are honest, straight forward, devoid of affectation and sham.

It is wood that accompanies us from the cradle to the coffin in our daily life. Instruments, buildings, and boats are just a few things that can be manufactured from wood, especially where it predominates in nature and in mountainous regions covered mostly by forests. Well, Slovakia is such a country.

Whole villages consisting of wooden cottages, half-masoned and half log-made, were created by the highlanders in their settlements and on their sites surrounded by mountains. Such settlements primarily existed in the Orava region and in Central and Eastern Slovakia. If we were to go to these regions, we would still find these cottages standing, well preserved, in their own beauty of folk fancy carvings and decorative carvings.

The ancient villages were formed by dense rows of streets characterized by having in the gable only two little windows one close to the other. Examples of such cottages could be found at Spišská Belá or in large miners' houses at Donovaly and at the Špania Dolina.

Lack of professional guidance and limited material (natural material) made it impossible for the owner to built a large house. The reason for this is that the wood lacked the strength needed to support weight at large spans.

Just like a coin collector's are his coins, these people also had pride in the wood which they worked with. There was a warm relationship found between man and wood. The love they had working with this wood is shown by the folk carvings engraved in the wood by the owner. It

was an amazing accomplishment made by the owner to be able to carve this wood using such crude tools.

The window frames were made out of wood because of the availability of trees; and sometimes plaster was also used. These windows found at the gabled end of the house brought a warm feeling of peace to match the scenic forest and mountains.

Nature plays a very big role in the decision of how steep the pitch of the roof is. A typical roof slope is 40 to 50 degrees depending on its location. These houses which were located at the edge of the forest have low pitched roofs; but those located in the valley have a very steeply pitched roof because of the heavy snows which they are burdened with. The most significant aspect of these roofs is the handmade shingles which are cut and laid out by the owner.

There were only two main areas in the house, the living room (first floor) and the attic. The attics were used for storage and sometimes a place for someone to bed down at night. The main floor was used for eating, sleeping, gatherings, and was also used for sheltering the livestock. In a house today, we would consider the living room, with the TV playing, as the focal point of the house. In the early houses of Slovakia, the stove served as the focal point. Besides being used for cooking food, the stove served as a place for gathering and exchanging of stories among family and friends. The stove was built from a mixture of clay, chaff, and straw, and smoothly finished to the desired shape by the owner. The floor along with the stove was made of this same mixture of clay.

An interesting aspect of the interior is the number of times which they paint the interior walls in one year. This paint, being of lime mixture, served as a health factor to the family. They didn't have tile, or plaster, to cover the joists and rafters so they were always left exposed. There exposed joists served a very important role to the family. High above the floor the Bible was found nestled atop a joist with other valuable papers. Being tradition and also the safest place in the house, this is the reason for finding these articles in this place. Another reason for finding the Bible so high is as tradition says—the Bible should be set

in the highest place of the household. Inside the Family Bible, there would be found an account of the family tree.

Everything found in the interior of a house was made out of wood. Chairs, spoons, tables, and plates were made by the owner. Even the nails (pegs) which hold the beams were made out of wood. Why wood? Metal nails were too expensive and were only used by blacksmiths to repair the shoes on a horse.

A wooden house asserts itself from the architectoral point of view expressively by its gabled front. In this way, aerial pictures of whole villages are thus presented. A beautiful example of this can be found in the upper Hron river district, primarily in Hel'pa and Pohorelá.

In such cases as the houses built at Hel'pa and Pohorelá, the walls and partitions were constructed from rough wood beams interrupted only for window and door openings. The joints between the wooden beams were filled by moss and finished with a clay covering. After the finish coating of clay was applied, it was then painted with lime or left exposed. The combination of wood and clay material was a very healthy element because it balanced the humidity inside the house so it wasn't too wet or dry. The houses were made of wood only from the shelf which was made of stone. This shelf serving as a base to carry the loads of the house was approximately four feet deep.

In Hron district a very characteristic element of the house was a wooden fence with a roof covering on top which reserved a private area. This area extended between the house and stable. This enclosure of public to private has an urbanistic importance. It creates a two house unit and space between them which is totally private. During the summer, these private spaces were used for social gatherings.

The use of wood in the construction of houses was convenient but also dangerous—high flammability.

In the past, there were many large fires which often destroyed the whole village. Once a large fire destroys a village, the houses are reconstructed the same way with the same style; but the name of the village is changed. An example of this is Pohorelá which was destroyed by fire.

From time to time, the terrain in some places demands another solution, for instance gradated, corner-shaped or other configuration in space and form. These configurations of houses comparing whole settlements, facing streets, are types of exclusively Slovak settlements. Communities like Vyšný Kubín, Jasenová, Fačkov, Hubová, or Stankovany are today merely historical documents.

Jasenová is different from other villages in the sense that the houses are oriented to the village square. The houses are enriched with additional covered open-space protected by rain. These covered open-spaces are porches. These porches are usually located on the second floor, which is the living area, while the first floor is used as a shelter for livestock. These porches are supported by two main cantilever beams, which are supported by two columns; and the columns in turn are supported by two more cantilevers. An important factor about these porches is the construction of the railing. It is a nice sight to see how the railing is cut into folk carvings designed by the owner's own style. The owners then would actually compete against each other to see who had the best craftmanship.

Today, we have faucets within the house with which we receive our source of water. In the Slovak villages, they had wells located outside the house from which they would draw up water in a bucket as their supply of water. A characteristic point of view about these wells is when they were constructed they took on similar features of the owner's house. The same wood, style, and pitched roof with shingles, shows the sense of pride the owner had for all his construction.

The gable roof of these houses was also decorated with some sort of ornament. The houses used a cross or certain vertical siding as their decorative piece located at the gabled end of the roof.

New York City has the Empire State Building—St. Louis has the Arch—and Slovak villages have a bell tower as their masterpiece. This bell tower wasn't only used for religious purposes but also for civil means of communication. Every village bell had a different tone so as not to get confused between two villages or more. This bell would sound in case of emergencies and also to notify the men

and women working in the fields when it was lunch and supper time. Just like every other piece of construction the bell tower was also built out of wood.

Various kinds of construction of the loghouses, their structure, their elevations of masonry at Liptov, roofing, roof corners, balconies, and filling between the timber can be seen enywhere in a great variety. Plastering of the timber is sometimes carried out for reasons of insulation. This is to preserve timber against the influence of rain, sometimes even cold or simply to veil poverty of the wooden house.

The protection from rain is evidenced by plastering the log walls on the outside up to the height where the loghouse is not protected by the overhanging gutter. For the same reasons, the timber and interstices are white-washed with lime especially in corner transverse sections of the logs. At čičmany, this ornamentics in lime culminate in rich spiral ornamentation and painting of the logs, reminding of embroidery stiches. Under this ornamentation, the buildings lose their wooden block-like character formed by the wooden block in which doors and windows are carved out.

The beauty of these houses is such that Čičmany is known as one of the most beautiful attractions of the world. Since nature is the survival of the Slovaks, the decorated walls of the houses in this village represent the different symbols of nature. Flowers, trees, etc., are just a few of the decorative symbols found painted on the house walls. Every house is a magnificent figure of originality and beauty created by the owner. The decorated walls and carved wood are all reasons for competition among neighbors.

The young women who live in Čičmany today are employed by factories and offices outside their village. After they come home at night, they work decorating costumes with the same art work as on the houses so they may wear their costumes on weekends for the tourist entertainment. However, decorating the costumes for tourist entertainment is not the only reason for doing this. They decorated their costumes because of the love and pride they have for our forefathers tradition.

On the log structure, there sit various regional roof peculiarities, primarily saddle roofs and more rarely curb roofs sloping down into four gutters. There are slightly sloping roofs from the summit into the gable the construction of which was started at a later period especially in the environment of čadca. Changes of the latter roofs into gabled ones are very well discernible in the houses of čičmany. Roofs with the lower edge of the latter type are typical for the upper Hron river region.

In all houses, the roofs considerably exceed the log structure so as to make possible to store them round the house fuelwood and let it dry for their winter use. Wooden houses are usually amply lined round the walls with wood for drying. Building logs are deposited outside the house to season in the sun, and branches are left in heaps in the back yard and used as fuel. Briefly, wood around the house smells of resin; and, for instance, at Liptovská Revúca, Čierny Balog, Stankovany, but mainly in the villages of the Orava district, there is a considerable reserve of wood stored around the house.

A rare peculiarity are the balconied and storied constructions in the Orava District at Jasenová, then at Čičmany, in the vicinity of Kremnica and upper part of Turiec.

In Slovakia, very ancient interiors with open fireplaces and ovens have been preserved. Many special studies have been written about their singularities and their Old Frankish and Slavonic origin.

Greatest fullness and utilization of the esthetic taste could hardly have been exhausted by the building of dwellings. Feeling of beauty has mostly asserted itself in the building of sacral structures where it was necessary to erect for the Divine Power magnificent, decorated tabernacles—building of wooden churches, belfries, steeples, and cemetery crosses. The poor sculptors could not afford to erect churches from marble. They were unable to order crosses from polished basalt or granite. As everything else, these objects were constructed from wood.

The art of building from wood can justly be considered the national and original expression of folk building and of building in general in Slovakia, since it developed directly from the natural conditions and from the oldest cultural folk strata.

As far as wooden structures, cultural and sacral, in various religious rites (Catholic, Orthodox, Greek Catholic,

and Protestant), there have been preserved in Slovakia seventy of them.

The most interesting are wooden churches in Eastern Slovakia. In the majority of cases, the Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches in Slovakia are the most numerous and can be divided into three types.

The first type usually possesses a quadrangular high tower which is set in front of the main nave of the church and has its own belfry independent of the church. These churches are found in Slovakia at Hraničné and Matysová near Stará Ľubovňa. Then, they continue westward of Bardejov with the church at Frička and south of Bardejov at Venecia and Kožany.

The second type of churches that have the same quadrangular tower, higher or lower, are connected with the main nave or directly set up on the roof of the main church but not directly built into the church.

The third type is the most easterly one and is expressed by definite elements and character. There are the three steeple-like terminations of the logrooms: The anteroom, the main nave and apsis which in its interior is separated from the main nave by iconostas. Each of these spaces culminates in a spire. The highest is the anterior part with a bulb-like cupola. The intermediate cupola is lower, quadrangular or octagonal with a log structure ceiling. Also, the smallest posterior part above the apsis terminates in a small spire. This type of church belongs to the most numerous ones.

The densest networks of wooden churches is spread south below Dukla pass whether one approaches coming from Bardejov and Zborov to Svidník or whether one is coming from Vranov to Svidník and further to the east to Kružlová, Ladomírová, Korejovce, Hunkovce, Nová Polianka (previously Mergeška), šemetkovce, Miroľa, Bodružal, Vyšný, and Nižný Komárnik, right to the pass.

Finally, we have to mention the age of these wooden structures. On the territory of Slovakia, the oldest one is considered to be the wooden church at Tročany, 20 km. north of Prešov, the origin of which is put in the 14th century. This is easy to explain since yew wood was used in its construction. Also, a building in Hervartov, and more

definitely so, originates in the end of the 15th century. Then follows the church at Zabrež. The Protestant churches generally come from the 17th and 18th centuries. Churches of the eastern rite are the youngest. They originated in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Then, it has to be remembered that the tooth of time and the woodworm enjoy with hearty appetite the wooden building memorials. It is the peak of time for us to preserve our eminent memorials in "scansens" beside museums or in other suitable sites in nature to save what still can be saved.

# (First place — College)

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# II.

# MILAN RASTISLAV ŠTEFÁNIK AND THE TRAGEDY OF THE SLOVAK PEOPLE

# Robert Pojer

During the late part of the nineteenth century, the seeds of nationalism had already been sown throughout the great empires of Europe. It would take the trauma of a world war before these nationalistic aspirations could be realized.

In 1867 the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy made its appearance. Within this vast empire, there existed many peoples—the Austrians and the Magyars, of course; the Serbs, Croats, Ruthenes, Rumanians, Czechs, and Slovaks, to name just a few.

Although on the surface, this Austro-Hungarian Empire

appeared to be united, in actuality is became evident that both Austria and Hungary were really two separate states. Even though they shared a common ruler, a common foreign policy, a common army, and common finances<sup>1</sup> both parts of the Monarchy were totally independent.

Slovakia and Slovak destiny was in the hands of the Hungarian or Magyar state. The new arrangement gave the Magyars absolute control over the 30 million Slavs and the other non-Magyar elements which constituted a majority of the Hungarian population.

The Slovaks were one of those nationalities with unique cultural distinctions which would separate them from the Magyars. For a time the Magyars permitted the establishment of Slovak schools and cultural societies for the preservation of the Slovak heritage and history. On the surface at least, this seemed fairly liberal for the times. The crucial question of laws made to secure these schools and societies and their enforcement arose constantly and on this score the Slovaks couldn't be too hopeful.

Indeed, Slovaks seemed to sense that the Austro-Hungarian settlement would bring nothing but new setbacks and humiliations. The long history of resisting domination from many different empires and peoples conditioned them for what was to come. The Magyars feared that if the Slovak people studied their history, language, and culture, they might eventually desire to become a free nation, separate from the Hungarian state.

A half-hearted program of the Magyarization of the Slovak people had existed for some time but it was during the 1860's that this policy began to be strongly enforced. The Slovaks were denied the right of free speech and assembly.<sup>2</sup> Their literature and schools were suppressed and forbidden. They were forced to learn in a tongue—Magyar—which was completely alien to them. This "Magyarization" of the Slovaks was done primarily to quell any Slovak feelings of nationalism. Nonetheless, the Slovaks' inherent love of liberty, freedom, and justice was undaunted.

Along with the many restrictions mentioned above, there was a constant struggle between the Slovaks (and other nationalities within the Empire) and the Hungarian government for representation in the Hungarian Diet. From time to time, a few Slovaks were elected but their national-

istic feelings brought them into constant conflict with the Magyars who at this time were striving to protect their state from rebellions from within. Any rumblings could eventually lead to the collapse of the Empire and this they would prevent at any cost. Therefore, Slovak political expression was weak and constantly suppressed.

In the election of 1910, only three Slovak deputies<sup>3</sup> were chosen and these Slovaks combined spent twenty years of their lives between the Hungarian Diet and Magyar jails in defense of the Slovak people. The Slovaks continued to be divided into two differing groups; one favored Slovak autonomy, and the other advocated a federated republic of the Slovak and Czech peoples within the existing Hungarian Empire. The Magyars, of course, exploited these Slovak and Czech differences to serve their own ends.

Out of this conflict (between the Slovak people and the Hungarian government just described) there arose a leader who would try to secure freedom for his people. This would eventually cost him his life. Such a man was General Milan Rastislav Štefánik, astronomer, mathematician, military leader, and political leader of the Slovak people and the focal point of this paper.

Milan R. Štefánik was born in the Slovak village of Košariská of Protestant parents in 1880. In Košariská Štefánik acquired an interest in astronomy and mathematics, which he later pursued at the University of Prague. When war broke out in 1914 he was in his early thirties and in Morocco making astronomical observations.<sup>4</sup>

His patriotism for his country brought him away from his work as an astronomer and took him almost immediately to France where he joined the French army as a private. Stefánik was soon transferred to the young French air corps where he served as an observer in air tactics. He became convinced that the Slovak people would never be content fighting for the Mcnarchy. It was here that Stefánik began to make plans for the formation of a Slovak foreign legion.

Throughout the middle war years (1915-1916) Štefánik made it a point to travel wherever he could in Europe to recruit troops for the legion. He managed to recruit a total of 10,000 men made up of Slovaks, Serbs, Russians, and

Rumanians for the allied cause. Many of these men that stefánik recruited were prisoners of war taken with much resistance, and were fighting for a cause which was not their own. This was a very important contribution to the allied war effort and to his own people who looked to him as a true leader for now these POW's from the Austro-Hungarian armies would be fighting for a cause they believed in and for the eventual formation of free and independent countries for their own peoples.

Because of his dynamic personality and military accomplishments, Štefánik quickly reached the rank of General and it became evident that being the only leader of the future Czecho-Slovakia with military experience, the task of providing the Czecho-Slovak divisions to fight with the allied armies fell to Štefánik.

In 1917 štefánik made a visit to the United States, a visit which can be understood as perhaps štefánik's most important contribution to the future of the Slovak people. There was also a strong nationalistic feeling in America among Slovak-Americans and Czech-Americans to actively promote the cause of a Czecho-Slovakia. Štefánik's efforts in his 1917 United States visit may be best explained in his own words:

I have come to America to set afoot among the Slovak people a movement toward a more perfect understanding of the fundamental conditions of independence, and to obtain permission from the government at Washington to form an independent Czech and Slovak army—in which every Czech and Slovak might take part—the final struggle for our freedom, and perform a cherished duty long deferred.<sup>5</sup>

At the time of Štefánik's visit, General Vignal, who was also stationed in the United States, said of Štefánik's work:

I cannot praise sufficiently this great patriot, cool-headed and inspired by the highest ideals, full of tact and wisdom. He has won the sympathy of the officials of the American State Department, and organized with the greatest success, the recruiting of Czechs and Slovaks.<sup>6</sup>

The French government sent a special commission headed by Franklin-Bouillon to Washington to obtain approval from President Wilson for Štefánik to recruit Czechs and Slovaks with the idea of forming a Czecho-Slovak regiment within the allied forces. Štefánik greatly aided the success of this mission. He eventually recruited some 4,000

able-bodied Czechs and Slovaks who were not subject to the Selective Service Laws in America due to the fact that many of these immigrants were not yet naturalized citizens. Recruitment of these troops was not easy. Stefánik had the difficult task of raising money for transportation and housing facilities for his "Legionnaires," as well as providing for funds to support the families of the recruited wage earners.

But perhaps the most important single aspect of Štefánik's visit to the United States was his relations with American Slovak and Czech leaders. He attempted to dispel Slovak doubts as to Slovakia's status in a proposed new state to be created from the Dual Monarchy after an allied victory.

štefánik had yet another important meeting on July 1, 1917, at the Congress Hall in Washington, D. C. štefánik reported on the military situation on the Eastern front and also the condition of Slovak and Czech troops in Russia. The real purpose of this meeting, however, was two-fold. One was to arrange the organization of American Slovaks and Czechs into the legion and the most important point was to lay down the groundwork for Czecho-Slovak cooperation in the United States. Štefánik knew that without the continued financial support of the Americans and Slovak and Czech immigrants, the birth of their state would not be realized.

For this reason štefánik remained non-committed about the future state to the American Slovaks and Czechs. He stressed that the new state would not be "an ethnographically inseparable one." By this he meant that the Czecho-Slovak state was to be a politically unified one, but as to whether he envisioned a separate Slovak assembly in Bratislava to handle Slovak domestic affairs is not all clear. Štefánik specifically stated to the American Slovaks that the Slovaks in the homeland must be set free to make their own decision on important issues and that no guarantee could be given to emigrant Slovaks in the United States. Even with this in mind the unselfish Slovak-Americans gave all of their cooperation to štefánik and to the cause he fought for in the homeland of Czecho-Slovakia. One must remember that the recently emigrated Slovak-American

was financially very poor for the most part, and, therefore, any financial support was a great sacrifice for him.

štefánik's dedication to Slovak autonomy did not stop with the militaristic idea but he gave clear evidence of his dedication in regard to religious matters also. Slovak Catholics (Catholicism being the majority religion in Slovakia), both in the homeland and in the United States, were suspicious that the leading Czechs associated with Masaryk, were clearly hostile to the Catholic Church. They feared that the Czechs' skepticism toward the existence of God would always be the dominant element in Czech political life. To rid the people of these fears, Masaryk had assured them that in the new Czecho-Slovakia, there would be complete religious freedom for all. Despite this assurance, the doubts still persisted. Therefore, it was up to štefánik to assure the American Slovaks of religious freedom in the new state.

It was at a meeting on September 20, 1917, that štefánik sat down with a group of American Slovak Catholic clergymen to thrash out this problem.<sup>8</sup> There is no written record available of this very important meeting but, it is known that many fears were raised that Slovak Catholicism would suffer greatly at the hands of a completely Czechized non-Catholic or perhaps even an anti-Catholic government in Prague.<sup>9</sup> Štefánik came to the conclusion that in order for the American Slovaks to support the revolution in Europe, the new state would have to guarantee religious freedom for Slovakia. "The meeting with the American Slovak clergymen," said Edward Beneš, Masaryk's right-hand man, "was very important because here Štefánik dispelled all the suspicions and unwillingness of the priests as regards the movement for independence . . ." <sup>10</sup>

This statement made by Beneš, dispelled any doubts that Štefánik would win the reassurance of the Catholic Slovak clergymen to continue the fight for a completely religious and culturally free state of Czecho-Slovakia.

On September 16, 1917, Štefánik met with Franklin-Bouillon and John P. Mitchell, then mayor of New York City, at an important demonstration-meeting held at Carnegie Hall. This meeting, at which the representatives of the Allied armies were present, had a considerable propaganda

significance since it broke the ice of indifference of American journalists. At this meeting štefánik told several thousand fellow patriots that "our fight against Austro-Hungary can end only when both our fraternal nations, the Czechs and the Slovaks, are united in an independent state free of Magyar-German domination." 11 Also speaking at the meeting was Franklin-Bouillon, who addressed the men of the "Czecho-Slovak" nation and appealed to them to join the Legion. He was the first influential statesman who publicly voiced a desire for the dismemberment of the Dual Monarchy. This statement of Franklin-Bouillon's caused a sensation in American political circles. For at no previous meeting was the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary publicly announced. For this reason one cannot but feel that the true Štefánik came forth at the Carnegie Hall mass meeting.

The success of štefánik's two-fold task of recruitment and securing Czech-Slovak solidarity in the United States seemed complete, and štefánik sought permission to return to Paris. Vignal granted this permission for štefánik to return to France on the first transport of Slovak and Czech troops. The General also added a few words of praise for the success of štefánik's mission.

This mission contributed to the Slovak-Czech cause in another very tangible way. Urged by štefánik's great talent as an orator, his obvious patriotism, and tremendous personal magnitude, in the fall of 1917, the American Slovaks organized their Million Dollar Drive to aid the cause for Slovak-Czech freedom abroad. The drive, headed by Father Joseph Murgaš, sent well over \$800,000 to Masaryk, Beneš, the Czecho-Slovak National Council's office in Paris, Russia, and the United States. Štefánik won their respect and cooperation in his fight for Slovak autonomy.

During Stefánik's leave from the United States and his return to Paris, much was done behind his back toward the formation of the new Czecho-Slovak Republic. In May of 1918 Masaryk was in Pittsburgh meeting with American and Slovak and Czech leaders, explaining just how Czecho-Slovakia would be administered and precisely what the status of Slovakia would be within the new state. He assured the Slovaks that Czecho-Slovakia would be an

autonomous state. He also assured them that Slovakia would have its own schools, its own language, its own local administration, courts, and its own legislative assembly. And, to further appease Slovak sensibilities toward the new state, Masaryk drafted a document which has since been vehemently debated. The document came to be known as the Pittsburgh Pact. It contained all of the above legislation and it added that the Czecho-Slovak state shall be a republic, and its constitution shall be democratic.

The irony surrounding the drafting of the Pittsburgh Pact was that Masaryk signed the Pact and did not abide by its stipulations. In his own book, *The Making of a State*, Masaryk skipped over the Pact as a mere scrap of paper noting that "it was concluded in order to appease a 'small Slovak faction' which was dreaming of God knows what sort of independent Slovakia . . . the agreement was a local one . . . among the Czechs and Slovaks *of America*." <sup>12</sup>

Therefore, according to Masaryk, this Pact was *not* between the Slovak and Czech *nations*, but just an agreement "to satisfy a small Slovak faction:"

Obviously, it was never meant to be considered in the planning of the foundation of the Czecho-Slovak state either by Masaryk or the Czechs themselves. Masaryk brushed aside the Slovaks rudely by this action, broke his word of honor and proclaimed his signature genuine but worthless, and in the same work (World Revolution, 1925, p. 105) he discounted the financial aid of the Slovaks as insignificant. 13

As can be seen, Masaryk treated the entire matter shabbily and deceitfully. More effective communications with štefánik in Paris should certainly have been established, especially after štefánik's impressive visit to the United States. It should have been mandatory that štefánik sign the Pact, thus binding the Czecho-Slovak National Council itself. Masaryk made very little effort at all to contact štefánik and the other Slovak leaders. Masaryk then continued to make plans for the new state without štefánik's cognizance of the matter.

I feel a moment must be taken here to mention the fact that there was an undertone of personality clashes, jealousy, and suspicion on the parts of Masaryk and especially the socialist Beneš toward Štefánik. Mrs. Louise Weiss, editor of *l' Europe Nouvelle* in Paris and an intimate friend of

štefánik's, wrote in her book *Mémoires d'une Européenne* (Memoirs of a European Woman):

His (Stefánik's) differences with Beneš were an obsession to him. Although he was overbusy, he found time to enlighten me within three minutes, about 'this first grade socialist, this paper revolutionary, this distorted diplomat.' As soon as he left, Beneš settled down in my office, and for three hours expanded on this astronomer who thinks he is a soldier, this peasant who thinks he is an aristocrat, this politician who considers himself a genius, but who, in fact, is nothing but muddled up.<sup>14</sup>

# Further she writes:

When Stefánik returned from his expedition, he found Beneš more and more firmly established with some Government Offices with whom he was negotiating (in the absence of Stefánik) and, in view of the circumstances, without informing Stefánik about it. Beneš could not witness without envy the aura surrounding Milan (Stefánik) as a legendary hero. 15

Beneš and Masaryk, as well, I feel, were jealous and afraid of štefánik's overwhelming popularity. As opposed to them, štefánik was a more "colorful" character with his ear attuned to the pulse of the Slovak people both in Slovakia and in the United States. The aim of Masaryk and Beneš was to establish a predominantly Czech bureaucracy throughout the newly formed nation to fill the vacuum left by the Magyars with no real concern for the welfare and wishes of the Slovak people. As long as štefánik, however, could serve their purpose in uniting the Slovaks with the Czechs (for pragmatic reasons only) to show the Allies a unified peoples so that they would grant independence, then Masaryk and Beneš "tolerated" but ignored štefánik whenever possible. When he finally realized their true intentions, he was no longer useful and, therefore, would have to be eliminated.

On October 28, 1918, T. G. Masaryk proclaimed the Czecho-Slovak Republic while he was in Washington. Masaryk wrote the Declaration of Independence and presented it to Secretary of State Lansing to get his approval. Masaryk wrote in the declaration "that the rights of Bohemia might be united to those of the Slovak brethren in Slovakia, once a part of our (Czech) state..." <sup>16</sup>

This proclamation made štefánik furious. He was perturbed that the proclamation was issued in Washington instead of Paris. He also added that the proclamation was

issued without his previous knowledge and that Masaryk forged his signature to it without prior consultation. Stefánik then sent a telegram to Masaryk in Washington and Beneš in Paris to voice his objections to the declaration. He sent the telegram on October 28, the same day that the declaration was released to the public. In Stefánik's view, the Republic surely had gotten off on the wrong foot. His misgivings were realized soon after his death when Crecho-Slovak policy, domestic and foreign, became strictly Czech policy. "The lure of might showed itself more powerful for the Czech majority than the ideals of nationalism, equality, and rights." 18

In the early part of 1919 štefánik began his journey home where he was to be crowned with the appointment to the office of the Minister of National Defense in the new Republic. Štefánik's love for his native Slovakia and the people dominated every interest he had in life, even that of attaining high personal fame. Štefánik once wrote to a friend: "I am a Slovak, body and soul; I know no divided affection." <sup>19</sup>

After štefánik's inspection of his army in Italy he planned to make the trip home by plane. On May 4, 1919, General Milan Rastislav štefánik, the war hero of all Slovakia, was killed under circumstances which have been suspect ever since. He was returning to Bratislava where a huge crowd had gathered to welcome him, where he was to take up duties as first Minister of Defense in the Czecho-Slovak Republic he had helped create in Paris. A little after 11 a.m. on that fateful day, the Italian plane—Caproni No. 11,495—carrying štefánik and an Italian pilot and co-pilot, circled the Vajnory Airport near Bratislava for a landing. All of a sudden the plane burst into flames and crashed to the ground below. Štefánik had been a victim of an anti-aircraft barrage of the Czecho-Slovak garrison whose orders were given to them by a Czech commanding officer.

Prague tried to hush up the tragedy but it couldn't be suppressed. "It was all a mistake," said the commanding officer, "I thought it was an enemy plane; the garrison didn't know Štefánik was arriving in an Italian-made plane!" <sup>20</sup> Despite Czech propaganda, eye witnesses still alive today, as well as certain members of the military

garrison, insist that the shooting was willful, that štefánik was deliberately murdered. There are even letters and sworn statements that exist to coincide with the charges. It was found that before an investigation board, a soldier named Joseph Meško, confessed to shooting at štefánik's plane and stated that he had not known of such orders and had opened fire with the belief that the plane was a Magyar one.<sup>21</sup> One eyewitness, Rudolph Ružička stated:

I was at my canon when I saw the arrival of the plane about which we had been previously advised. I don't swear that we knew for sure it was Štefánik's plane; nevertheless, I do maintain, and still today, even if it could have been an enemy plane, that they shouldn't have fired so fearfully and heavily upon it.<sup>22</sup>

The death of štefánik is still very unclear in the minds of all Slovaks. Štefánik knew that throughout history Czechs and Slovaks had formed distinct national and cultural differences and that, therefore, Pan-Czech references to "one Czechoslovak nation" were pure myth. Štefánik was a fierce Slovak patriot who would not stand still for the completion of a "Czechized" new state.<sup>23</sup>

štefánik was an inconvenience to the Czechs and their plans to colonize Slovakia within the "great Czechoslovakia" that the National Council in Paris had dreamed of. Many Slovaks even today will tell you that štefánik had to die, because he would never consent to Slovakia being a colony of the imperialistic Czechs led by T. G. Masaryk and Edward Beneš. The shooting down of Caproni No. 11,495 served Prague well.

In today's Slovakia, controlled by the Communists, Milan Rastislav Štefánik is remembered and looked to as an inspiration to all Slovak people.<sup>24</sup> From the time of his death to the present day, Slovakia has suffered again and again from forces beyond her control. Štefánik had always been wary of Czech promises and his misgivings came to pass. The Czechs only used the Slovaks and their nationalistic aspirations as pawns at Paris to be appeased so that the allies would create a state for them out of the carved-up Austro-Hungarian Empire if they saw some semblance of unity between the two groups. The Czechs knew that once this was achieved, and they were independent from Allied control, they would then be the dominant force in the new state and not equal partners with the Slovak people.

Even though Slovakia still is not free, Milan Rastislav Štefánik and his dreams live on and serve as hope for a future Slovakia, free and self-governing someday.

# (Second place — College)

## FOOTNOTES

- Special committees elected from both the Austrian and Hungarian Diets were entrusted with the administration of these common departments—in all other matters, and what were left were called purely "domestic affairs,"
- Gilbert L. Oddo, Slovakia and Its People (New York: Robert Speller and Sons, Publishers, 1960), p. 135.
- 3) These were Francis Skyčák, Dr. Paul Blaho, and Ferdinand Juriga.
- Milan S. Ďurica, "Milan R. Štefánik and His Tragic Death in the Light of Italian Documents," Slovak Studies, Volume X, 1970, p. 148.
- Peter P. Yurchak, The Slovaks (Indiana: Obrana Press, Inc., 1946),
   p. 196.
- 6) Yurchak, p. 196 plus.
- 7) Oddo, p. 167.
- 8) Oddo, p. 168.
- 9) Oddo, p. 169.
- 10) Oddo, p. 167.
- 11) Oddo, p. 167.
- 12) Joseph Paučo, Sixty Years of the Slovak League of America (Middletown, Pa.: Jednota Press, 1967), p. 53.
- 13) Paučo, p. 53.
- 14) Joseph M. Kirschbaum (ed.), Slovakia in the 19th and 20th Centuries (Toronto: Slovak World Congress, 1973), p. 84 plus.
- 15) Kirschbaum, p. 84 plus.
- 16) Oddo, p. 183.
- 17) Oddo, p. 183.
- 18) Reverend B. S. Buc, *Slovak Nationalism* (Middletown, Pa.: Jednota Press, 1960), p. 38.
- 19) Yurchak, p. 202.
- 20) Ďurica, p. 164.
- 21) Ďurica, p. 165.
- 22) Ďurica, p. 165.
- 23) Yurchak, p. 203.
- 24) A national monument has been erected to the memory of Stefánik in Slovakia at Bradlo, near his native village, to which Slovaks make a yearly pilgrimage. A life-size statue has also been erected in the U.S. in Wade Park, Cleveland, Ohio.

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### III.

## SLOVAKIA BEFORE THE CZECHS

#### John Berta

The Slovaks are a Slavic people who settled in the land between the Danube River and the Carpathian Mountains some 1500 years ago. The area had formerly been held by the Marcommani, a Celtic people, who fled the land after several disastrous wars with the armies of the Roman Empire.

The Slovaks were hunters turned farmers. Their main enterprises were blacksmithing and potterymaking, while business transactions were done by bartering. They lived in simple mud and wooden huts, and lived in family groupings called clans, of which the oldest was its head.

The Slovak gods were as numerous and varied as those of the Greeks and Romans. When a Slovak died, if cremated, the ashes were placed in urns and buried in a mound. If the body was to be buried, food, wine, weapons and jewelry were placed in the grave. The size of the burial site determined the importance of the dead person.

The first attempt of the Slavonic peoples, living along the Danube, to unite into a viable force, came after the Avars, a nomadic Asian people, conquered part of their land. In 624, Samo, a Frankish merchant, united the people and led them to victory against the Avars. This victory encouraged them to face the Germanic Franks, who were also encroaching on their territory. In 631, the Franks, under Dagobert, were defeated in a three-day battle near Vogaste Castle. The Empire prospered now in peace.

In 658, Samo died and his empire soon fell apart.

For the next two hundred years the Slovaks were leaderless until in 830, Pribina, ruler of the Slovak city of Nitra, took charge, and created what was to become the Great Moravian Empire. He was a wise ruler. Though not a Christian himself, he allowed the Christians to proselytize in his land. In 836, Mojmír I drove Pribina from his throne. Pribina fled to the Germans from whom he received Pannonia to rule as his own until his death in 861.

Mojmír enlarged Pribina's former domain, and tried to maintain friendly relations with the neighboring Germans. He was a Christian and allowed unhampered German missionary activity in his realm. He ruled until 846, when he in turn was unseated by the German king, Louis, and replaced by Rastislav.

Rastislav maintained an uneasy truce with the Germans and Bulgarians. In 860, fearing German interference in Slovak affairs, Rastislav requested from Pope Nicholas I, priests with a knowledge of the Slavonic tongue to come among his people. The Pope had no such priests and Rastislav turned to the Byzantine Emperor, Michael III. Michael sent two priests, the brothers Cyril and Methodius. They arrived in 863, and began to convert the Great Moravian Empire to Christianity. They translated the Holy Scripture into the Slavonic tongue and formed an alphabet, now known as the Cyrillic alphabet.

In 869, the German king, Louis, attacked the Empire. His armies devastated the land, but Rastislav managed to hold out at Devín, and kept the state's independence. That same year, Mojmír's nephew, Svätopluk of Nitra, overthrew Rastislav with German help.

In 871, Svätopluk was taken prisoner by the Germans, and Slavomír united the Empire's forces. War soon followed. Svätopluk had managed to escape, and together with Slavomír, destroyed the German army at Devín.

Svätopluk regained his throne, and began to enlarge his empire. The German clergy came into conflict with the Slovak clergy over control of Church affairs. The Germans held a great amount of influence over Svätopluk, and the Slovaks were often persecuted in their own lands. It is said, that before his death in 894, Svätopluk had retired to a monastery, not revealing his identity until shortly before his death.

Svätopluk's oldest son, Mojmír II, assumed his father's throne, while the younger son, Svätopluk II, received a principality to rule, but under his elder brother's domination.

In 895, with the secession of the Czech lands and Pannonia, Mojmír's domain shrank to that of Rastislav's. In 901, the Germans and Czechs invaded the Empire. After many fierce battles, Mojmír was forced to sue for peace, again losing territory to his enemies. In 902, the Magyars, an Asiatic people, invaded the Empire. Mojmír's forces suffered heavily. They had managed to rally their forces for a short while, but they could not stem the invading tide. In 906, Mojmír's resistance finally collapsed, and the Great Moravian Empire ceased to exist. The first Slovak state became a part of the Hungarian kingdom.

From the tenth through the end of the thirteenth centuries, Slovakia formed an administrative unit known as Upper Hungary. During the Tartar invasions of the thirteenth century, Slovakia suffered as heavily as did the other eastern European peoples.

In 1296, Duke Matúš Čák of Trenčín, owing to the dynastic struggle then taking place in Hungary, used the occasion to organize almost the whole Slovakia under his personal rule. For approximately twenty-five years (1296-1321) Čák ruled over what was in reality an independent Slovak state. Čák formed his own domestic and foreign policies. He maintained his own army, laws, and minted his own currency.

The Slovak peasantry suffered greatly at the hands of the great landowners. The Slovak nobility was non-existent. It had either been absorbed by the Magyars or decimated on the battlefield. Peasant revolts were common from the sixteenth century and thereafter, due to the institution of a Hungarian public law codified as the *Tripartitum Opus Juris Consuetudinarii Regni Hungariae*. It was drawn up

by Stefan Verböczi, in 1514. It designated the roles in society the different classes would represent. The peasantry (servitus), became a large landless group, tied to the land, and owned by the local noble. The nobility (natio), were to be the only ones allowed citizenship. This document only served to perpetuate serfdom causing class struggles and the struggle for individual rights. It affected all peasants in Hungary—Croat, Serb, Slovak, Rumanian, and Magyar alike.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, universities were established by various religious orders at Bratislava, Nitra, Trenčín, Košice, Žilina, and other Slovak cities. For many years Slovakia served as a refuge for German, Czech, and other nationalities' academicians, who found it necessary, for various reasons, to leave their native lands.

During the Protestant Reformation, the Slovaks remained loyal to the Roman Catholic Church, while the Czech Hussites were able to make a considerable number of conversions. During the Hussite wars, the Czech armies under Jiskra made frequent strikes onto Slovak territory, causing considerable damage to lives and property. After the Hussites were finally beaten, many of their number fled Bohemia to settle in Slovakia. There, they later came to exert a great amount of influence in Slovak and Czech affairs throughout the twentieth century.

Hungary proved itself incapable of withstanding the Ottoman onslaught from the Balkans. In 1526, at the Battle of Mohács, King Louis and his Magyar army were destroyed by the Ottomans. The Ottomans took control of most of Hungary, while leaving a rump Magyar kingdom. It was nothing but a thin strip of territory that divided the Ottoman Empire from the Austrian lands. Most of Slovakia came under Ottoman rule, but it was only temporary. The Hungarian crown was given to Charles V of Austria. It was hoped that he would be able to free the Hungarian lands.

After 160 years and two Ottoman attempts to capture Vienna, the Austrians went on the offensive. The Battle of Zenta (1697), found the Ottomans crushed by the Austrians and forced out of Hungary. By the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) the Ottomans were forced to cede all of Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia, and Slovenia to Austria. Thus, Slovenia to Austria.

vakia was freed from Ottoman rule, but now found herself under Austrian domination. Though the Habsburgs were now the rulers of Slovakia, the Magyar nobility was able to maintain their power over the Slovaks and the other nationalities within Hungary. Many gifted Slovak children, found educational opportunities available to them, but had to become Magyarized if worldly success was to be achieved. A great number of Magyarized Slovaks found success in the political and clerical fields. However, a number of educated Slovaks, seeing the plight of their fellow Slovaks, made attempts to maintain and develop Slovak culture and nationalism.

It was the Slovak Protestants who made the first attempts at developing a Slovak identity. The Catholic Church eventually took over this role and maintained this position of dominance until the end of World War II. Anton Bernolák (1762-1813) first codified the Slovak language. He also fashioned a Slovak dictionary and grammar book to be used in translating the works of other tongues into the Slovak tongue, and vice versa.

Many young Slovaks who were able to, went to be educated in Bohemia, feeling that there they would at least be among their fellow Slavs. Many of the leading political writers in Bohemia in the 1830's, such as Kollár and Šafárik, turned out to be Slovaks. In their writings they stressed not Czech nationalism, but the Slavic background of both the Czechs and Slovaks in the Austrian Empire. Some young Slovaks however, turned to and accepted the Magyar nationalism over their own Slovak ancestry. Two of the best known Magyar nationalists were Lajos Kossuth and Gaj Petöfi, a nationalist Magyar poet and vehement anti-Croat, was half Serb and half Slovak. Lajos Kossuth led the Magyar revolution of 1848-1849. When defeated, Kossuth fled to Paris, London and New York, always looking for an opportunity to restore an independent Hungary. Kossuth had been born of poor Slovak nobility, and was sent to be reared in a Magyar home. It was the Magyar custom to take the most promising children of all the subject nationalities and try to raise them as fervent Magyar nationalists.

In May 1848, the Declaration of Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš set forth a program which set the tone of Slovak political

desires for the next ninety years. Under the leadership of Ludovít Štúr, the first real Slovak spokesman, the program called for a federative monarchy, a Diet formed by a national council, equality of all nationalities, opening of Slovak primary and secondary schools, a national university and polytechnical school, formation of a national guard with its own command, recognition of the Slovak tongue as the language of administration, universal suffrage, freedom of the press, full legal ownership of lands which peasants owned only by a precarious title, and the right to possess a flag as a symbol of the Slovak Fatherland.

When in 1848 Kossuth attempted to set up an independent Hungary, free of Vienna's rule, the Slovak people also rose to revolt, against Budapest. The uprising, led by štúr, Jozef Hurban a Michal Hodža, was not in support of Viennese centralism, but a hope of a federative monarchy following the war. When at Myjava, September 1848, Štúr proclaimed Slovak independence from Hungary, he kept in mind the federation proposed at Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš. While the Slovak regiments were being raised and fielded against the Magyars, two petitions were given to Austrian authorities pledging Slovak support of the Monarchy, in return for recognition of Slovak political desires following the Magyar defea. The first petition was presented to the Emperor, Franz-Jozef, by Fr. Jozef Kozáček in March 1849. The Emperor had been visiting in Olomouc at the time. The second petition was presented in April 1849, to the government in Vienna by Štúr, Hurban and Hodža. Actions were promised by the Austrian authorities, but after the Austrian victory, more time was spent in placating the Magyars, who had attempted to destroy the Empire, than to the Slovaks and other nationalities who tried to keep the Empire intact.

In February 1861, Hurban presented to the Viennese government a document which covered the principal demands the Slovaks had sought in 1849.

More importance must be given to the *Memorandum* of the Slovak Nation. It was drawn up in June 1861, by Slovak political leaders in Turčiansky Sv. Martin led by Štefan Marko Daxner. This document was presented to the Hungarian Parliament in the hope of their recognizing the uniqueness of the Slovak region and allowing them autono-

mous control over its own administration, courts, schools and cultural institutions. The Slovaks realized the dangers of Magyar statism which continued to try and assimilate all non-Magyar nationalities. The Slovaks also felt that only the combined actions of all the Hungarian nationalities could overcome Magyar domination.

Slovak political leaders were few and far between. The most promising leaders had been either Magyarized or forced into exile from the homeland. The few who remained found themselves facing great odds. In 1863, the Matica slovenská (Slovak Academy) was established. It afforded the Slovak people the opportunity to rediscover their national heritage. Newpapers, books, schools, cultural and political groups were formed to give new life to the cause of Slovak nationalism and helped to educate future Slovak political leaders.

In 1864, the Hungarian Parliament passed the Law of Nationalities. All the inhabitants of the Hungarian lands were to be considered citizens of Hungary. In this way, Hungary formed itself into one political unit. Also, the law specified that all citizens had equal rights, and could express their own nationalist feelings, but within the law, and within reason. The Hungarian government under Ferenc Deák did its best to enforce the law so that it would appear to Vienna that Budapest was quite capable of dealing with its own minority problems on its own, without resorting to force.

Thus in 1867, Franz-Jozef, feeling that the only way to ease his fears of another Magyar revolution, granted the Ausgleich. This Ausgleich (compromise) put the Magyars on an even platform with the Germans. The realm was divided into the Austrian Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary. Franz-Jozef remained head-of-state. There was to be a common army and foreign policy. Hungary was responsible for the internal affairs of the lands of St. Stephen. Slovakia remained under Magyar domination.

Beginning in 1871, the Magyars began their policy of Magyarization. At first the moves were subtle. Town council meetings could only be held in Magyar. Any dealings with the railroad service had to be in Magyar. By 1875 the Magyarization policies became more pronounced. The judi-

ciary and administration fell to Magyarization. Church documents had to be in Magyar if they were to be considered legal. Eventually all non-Magyar schools were closed, both public and parochial alike. The Matica slovenská was forced to close its doors in 1874. In 1875, the last three Slovak Gymnasia (high schools) were closed in Kláštor pod Znievom, Revúca and Turčiansky Sv. Martin. Only Magyar schools were now to be found in Slovakia and the other non-Magyar areas. The local intelligentsia were advised, in their own best interests, to Magyarize if they wished to keep their position. Professional advancement depended on the amount of support one gave to the Magyar leadership.

In all the political elections from 1865 to 1881, the Slovaks ran candidates for parliamentary office. Few, if any, were ever elected. When there were no Slovak representatives, the Croats, Serbs and Rumanians voiced the Slovak appeals inasmuch as the Slovaks and the others shared the same Magyar domination. After 1881, the Slovaks ran no candidates for political office. It was not until 1901 that the Slovaks again ran a list of candidates for parliamentary office.

In August 1895, a Congress of Nationalities was held in Budapest, consisting of Slovaks, Serbs and Rumanians. It vigorously denounced the government's Magyarization policies. It demanded that as the Magyars represented less than half of Hungary's population, the other nationalities were entitled to their fair share of representation. The Congress also demanded universal suffrage.

Hlas, a monthly Slovak periodical, appeared in 1898. It was published by a group of Slovak Protestants, intellectuals and free-thinkers. They felt that the dangers of Magyarization were so great, that it constituted the necessity of Slovakia's fusion with the Czechs. In the First Czecho-Slovak Republic, it would be these same Hlasists who would control the political power in Slovakia. It can be easily seen here that even as early as the 1890's, the Czechs were already planning for a union of the Czech lands and Slovakia. The Slovak Protestants were to be the main tools of Czech imperialism.

In 1905, the Slovaks presented a list of thirteen parliamentary candidates. Only two were elected, Milan Hodža

and Ferko Skyčák became disenchanted with the Hungarian People's Party, on whose list he was elected, and together with Fr. Andrej Hlinka, formed the Slovak People's Party. In the 1906 elections, the Slovak People's Party managed to elect six of eighteen candidates.

In 1907, an incident occurred which united the Slovaks more than ever before to stand firm in the face of Magyar domination and intimidation. In his home village of Černová, Fr. Hlinka was to have consecrated the new church. As he had been called away to Moravia, the Magyar bishop of Spiš chose a priest loval to the regime to consecrate the new church. The Sunday the priest arrived, joined by the subprefect and a group of gendarmes, the populace of Černová attempted to block his way. The gendarmes were ordered to open fire on the people. Fourteen persons were killed and sixty wounded. Others were arrested on trumped up charges and imprisoned. No actions were taken on the gendarmes who were the real perpetrators of this crime. After the massacre of Černová, Hlinka became more determined than ever to obtain some form of independence for his people.

By 1910, the Slovak position seemed to deteriorate. The Slovak population reached two million in that year's census. They were entitled by law, to forty representatives in the Hungarian Parliament. However, only three of fifty candidates were elected. Skyčák had been reelected, but later resigned his seat. The prospects of at least an autonomous Slovak state seemed dim.

Hlinka had by now joined forces with Hodža. Together, under the banner of the Slovak People's Party, they formed the first cohesive Slovak nationalist movement. Prior to this, there had been loose national groupings, but they had proved to be ineffective against the Magyars. At least now there was a single, unified movement to press for Slovak demands. In this new organization, Hodža was to develop the political programs of the movement, while Hlinka was to organize the support of the Slovak people.

The Slovak political base was built on a coalition of Catholic solidarity, agrarian and workers' movements, and also a Czechophile element, composed mostly of the Hlasists, under T. G. Masaryk's indirect leadership. The loss of one of these elements could possibly bring down the whole Slovak nationalist movement. For without the support of the whole Slovak society, little could be accomplished, and the dreams of Slovak independence and freedom never realized.

Between the years 1860 and 1914, 500,000 Slovaks left their ancestral homes to find hope and freedom in the New World. Here they would be able to express the nationalist sentiment which had so long been denied them by the Magyars. They did not forget their homeland. These American Slovaks were to form a base of political and economic support which was vital to Masaryk in order to establish a union of the Slovak and Czech lands following World War I.

## (Third place — College)

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# As others see it

having within our midst, a strong and vital Slovak community. Our many traditions, mingled together throughout society cannot but make us a stronger, more resilient, more tolerant and understanding people. - Pierre Elliot Trudeau

Freedom and independence have long been the backbone of Slovak national thought.

The Slovak people now suffer under Communist domination and vet have made tremendous sacrifices on both personal and national levels to preserve their native culture, language, and religion.

One-third of all Slovak people now live in the United States and in other parts of the Western World. Freedom-loving people throughout Michigan and the world join with Slovak people in their desire to reestablish independence from totalitarian rule. - William G. Milliken, Governor of the State of Michigan

Your continuing efforts to share Slovak traditions and culture are a source of pride to all Americans. - Robert P. Griffin, U.S. Senator

As one whose ancestors grew up and lived in Slovakia, I am very proud of my Slovak heritage. Moreover, we Americans of Slovak background can also point with pride to the tremendous contributions the people of the American Slovak Community have made to our great nation. - Philip E. Ruppe, Member of Congress

In my own experience, I have found Slovak Americans to be bright, industrious, and filled with a zest for life. Moreover, you have eign oppression.

We are fortunate, in Canada, in successfully preserved a sense of identity and pride in the Slovak roots, a passion which has been further nourished by the more recent arrivals.

> As a Slovak citizen recently told a western newsman, "Here we have absolutely no shortage of unfulfilled desires." Some day in our lifetimes, I trust, democracy and individual liberty will live again in the land of your forefathers. — Lucien N. Nedzi, Member of Congress

> America is an immeasurably better nation because of the tremencontributions of Slovaks. Vigor and dedication to excellence have epitomized the Slovak way of life on America's farmlands, in her cities and educational institutions and on the Apollo flight to the moon of Commander Eugene Cernan.

> In remembering Slovakia, you are reminding the world of the special ethnic heritage of Slovaks around the world. - Marvin L. Esch, Member of Congress

> The Slovak people are a proud and talented people who have enriched the lives of the many countries in which they live. We can all be proud of the contribution of Slovak people to the development of America. The Slovak people have helped to build this country into a great democracy, while retaining their ethnic identity. -William S. Broomfield, Member of Congress

> Although self-determination and democracy have been denied them, the freedom-loving Slovak people have maintained their traditions even after many centuries of for

Slovaks living in the western world continue to cherish the dream of an independent Slovak nation. — Coleman A. Young, Mayor, City of Detroit

Catholic Church is the prime target of the Communists in Slovakia because she is considered an organization that is administered by the Vatican and is in contradiction with the idea of a state-controlled church as is the case in Russia. The major pressure is on the practising Catholics who live their faith, and not so much on the so-called "Catholics of the baptismal register." State employees in influential positions and the teachers are hardest hit. After the removal of Dubček, they were all carefully scrutinized and their files updated. Only the teachers and professors who are considered reliable Marxists can teach in the high schools and universities. It is required of them to sever their affiliation with their Church. That is a condition which must be fulfilled if they wish to keep their post.

In the high schools the teaching of religion is forbidden. In the elementary schools, religion can be taught only if both parents demand it for their children. The headmasters are obliged to try to persuade them not to send the children to religion classes. They have to warn the parents about the grave and adverse consequences this would have if they persist. The parents could lose their good positions in employment, and the children may find it difficult to be accepted for higher studies.

All teachers and higher-ranking white collar workers must be party members or they are subject to obligatory courses in Marxistatheistic ideology. After the fall of Dubček, more than 30,000 Marxist agitators were trained and now they are conducting re-educational courses among the students and the intelligentsia. Anybody who refuses such courses is considered an opponent of the regime and his "negative attitude" is entered into his "cadre" file which accompanies every citizen. The assessment in the file can make it hard to get or to change employment for which the person may have qualifications.

The ideological pressure is felt, too, in the family circle. The communist ideal is a family without religion.

The generation gap in socialism is intensified because in the family circle unity is destroyed - there is two-track thinking. The open practice of the Faith is in conflict with the ideology of the state. Therefore, the parents have to hide their religious conviction from their children or from each other. If they dare to bring up their children in the Faith, if they teach them to pray, there is the danger that the children will betray them in the school and that leads to stress and conflicts in the family. The denial of religious freedom has, in practice, painful consequences in the very nucleus of human society. -Bishop Dominic Kal'ata

Slovak Communist authorities have stepped up their promotion of "civil ceremonies" to replace baptism, confirmation, wedding and funeral ceremonies in church.

Austrian Catholic sources reported from Slovakia, that "wedding centers" and "funeral halls" for civil ceremonies have been installed in many areas. More than 1750 committees were formed to organize the ceremonies.

The sources said such civil rites

Slovak Interior Minister Egyd Pepych has complained that only 3.4 per cent of people who died in Czecho-Slovakia were buried with civil ceremonies. "The Citizens Committees still have much work to do," he said.

Communist officials intensified propaganda in recent weeks, our sources said. They distributed booklets explaining the purpose and advantages of the ceremonies. Moreover, "presents" are distributed in the civil program that seeks to replace Christian baptism, confirmation and matrimony.

Slovak newpapers and magazines have published reports of civil ceremonies to increase interest. One Communist daily described a civil "baptism" as follows:

"A committee secretary took the baby out of the hands of the mother and placed it into a hand-carved cradle. The parents—both teachers -recited a promise:

"We, the parents, solemnly declare that we will do everything in our power to educate our son as an outstanding citizen of our Socialist country." — (RNS)

Communist professors and state officials in Czecho-Slovakia have been waging a persistent campaign against religion despite constitutional guarantees of freedom of thought and religious choice.

This is the central point of Italian Jesuit Father Guiseppe Rulli, writing in the Rome Jesuit review Civilta Cattolica.

In a long analytical article, Fr. Rulli examines the writings of several eminent Marxist professors attacking religion and the Roman Catholic Church in particular over the past several years.

have failed to meet with much suc- | Rulli were Ladislav Tomasek of the Marxist Leninist Institute of Bratislava; Frantisek Kubovic of the Slovak University, and Minister of Culture Jaroslav Hajek.

> Despite the Communist government's claims that it is tolerant of religion, Father Rulli stressed that over the past few years a consistent campaign has been mounted against religious freedom.

> The professors in particular have called for "a battle against idealistic philosophy," which for Fr. Rulli is "without a doubt religious philosophy."

> Father Rulli cited an article by Frantisek Kubovic in which the Slovak professor declared: "to Catholicism in socialist countries it is not possible to grant 'freedom of action,' because that would mean going along with its anti-socialistic, anti-communist, anti-state and antinational attitudes. Therefore, it is indispensable that it be placed under the control of the socialist state so that political activity and the exploitation of the religious feelings of believers may be halted."

> Demands by the bishops to be allowed to carry out their religious functions in freedom, to run their seminaries without state control and to enjoy the right of giving instruction freely have been interpreted as examples of their antisocialist, anticommunist attitudes, Father Rulli stated.

> He also pointed out: "The Czech and Slovak communists accuse the Catholic Church of being an expression of an unilluminating idealism of defending a nonscientific and negative vision of the world and of always having been opposed to communism."

In the early 70's both Slovak and Czech public officials moved in on the Catholic Church to restrict its Among the authors cited by Fr. freedom. In 1970, Fr. Rulli reported, the Slovak Socialist Republic made it a requirement that priests get government permission to celebrate even a private Mass. Authorities of the Czech Republic followed suit. This was only the beginning of greater and more restrictive controls placed on the bishops and the parishes. Father Rulli reported.

Concluding his observations, Fr. Rulli declared that from the opening attacks on religion, "religious faith has been considered an expression of sentiment," and therefore must be controlled by the state to safeguard the people. -(NC)

In the struggle against communism the Church has always offered the stiffest resistance and countless members of the clergy have sacrificed their lives for their faith and country. The Catholic Church of Lithuania was brutally persecuted by the Kremlin regime as were the Churches of other nations under the despotic yoke of Moscow. Msgr. Jozef Tiso was the wartime president of the Slovak Republic (Independent Lithuania officially recognized Slovakia in 1939) and was executed by the communists in 1947 because he refused to betray his people and proclaim Slovakia a Soviet republic. As the prelatepresident of his country, Msgr. Tiso provided his beloved Slovakia with a Christian-democratic ideology and based his politics on papal encyclicals, Christian philosophy and national Slovak traditions. hours before his execution on the gallows Msgr. Tiso wrote this final message from prison to the Slovak people. The eloquence of this farewell also symbolizes the spirit with which the heroic priests of Lithuania offered up their lives on the altar of freedom for the salvation of their country and in Heaven in ladies, safe in the security of family

the presence of the Almighty bccame the radiant hope of the Lithuanian people.

"In the spirit of this sacrifice which I am about to make," wrote Dr. Tiso, "these are my words to the Slovak people:

Be unanimous and united in pursuing always, everywhere and in every respect the great principle: For God and for the Nation! This is not only the unequivocal intent of Slovak history, but also the explicit command of God, who made it the law of nature, and inculcated it in the nation and all its members. This law I have served all my life and for this reason I regard myself as a martyr in the defense of Christianity against Bolshevism, against which our nation must in all possible ways defend itself, and not only in order to remain true to its Christian character, but also in the interest of its future survival. In the same way as I am asking all of you to remember me in your prayers, so will I also pray to God Almighty on your behalf and supplicate that He bless the Slovak people in their life-struggle for God and for the nation, and that the Slovak nation shall always remain a faithful and devoted son to the Church of Christ."

Blessed are those whose way is blameless, who walk in the law of the Lord! — Bulletin of the Lithuanian Affairs Committee

In Slovakia, dozens of churches stand half-finished because of an edict forbidding new building of them. Unofficially, children, who go to church can't go to trade school or the university. But that doesn't matter as much as being home, even though strange things are happening to that home.

I expected to find little old

stead, Slovakia has gone doubleknit.

"Do you have a car?" was the first question, usually.

And then, "Do you have a color television set?"

. . . There is a song they sing over endless vodkas when the sun goes down, a song that obviously has never been written down. "Our lives are much better here," is the rough translation, "since our fathers went to work in America."

In some of the villages we visit, social and economic status is determined by who has relatives in the U.S. If your father happened to go there to work, you get Social Security benefits, and you are comfortable. If he worked in the mines around Wilkes-Barre and caught the black lung, you are wealthy.

American money is important, because Czecho-Slovak money won't buy much. It's not unusual to find houses with television sets but no nicky, Philadelphia Daily News, toilets, simply because it's easier December 28, 1974.

doing folk arts and embroidery. In to buy television sets than plumbing materials.

> But if you have American money, vou can buy "boni" - special certificates which must be spent in six months — to use in the Tuzex.

> And perhaps the Tuzex is the most telling memory of Slovakia.

It is a store that accepts only foreign currency. There is fruit juice and liquor, dry goods and clothing. There are baby carriages and radios. The people crowd in, sometimes pushing each other like so many American suburbanites at a bargain basement sale.

In a corner, one woman is selling her "boni." When I pull out a notebook to mark down prices, people stare. A friend cautions me to put away the notebook, and the tension ebbs.

Over it all, staring down on the Ban-Lon and baby carriages, is a picture of Lenin. — Carol Towar-

# Book Reviews

# BOOKS AND STUDIES ON SLOVAKIA AND SLOVAKS

Reviewed by Prof. J. M. Kirschbaum

Robert W. Dean, Nationalism and Political Change in Eastern Europe: The Slovak Question and the Czechoslovak Reform Movement, University of Denver, Colorado, The Social Science Foundation and Graduate School of International Studies, Monograph Series in World Affairs, Vol. 10, 1973.

historiography mostly as a footnote or a postscript to Czech history and were seen "through the Czech eyes" by specialists in Eastern Europe, several recent studies (Galia Golan, Eugene Steiner, John Conway etc.) departed from this politically and ideologically oriented tradition.

Among the large numbers of While in the past Slovakia and books published on post-war politi-Slovaks were treated in Western cal developments in Czecho-Slovakia and especially on the "Dubček | period," Robert W. Dean's concise study seems to be the most objective and his analysis of the reform movement free of anti-Slovak bias. Moreover, the value of Dean's book lies in its research and evaluation of original sources published in Czech Lands or in Slovakia during the period under his examination. As a result, Dean is drawing quite a different picture of Slovakia's post-war political situation and aspirations of her leadership and population from the account of some other specialists in that area. Communist governments in Prague were not more successful in solving the Slovak question than were the bourgeois governments before the war, and even the purges of leading Slovak Communists for alleged "bourgeois nationalism" were not able to silence the cries for equality, justice and self-government.

Slovak intellectuals fought, therefore, not only for the reform of the system, but also for the solution of the Slovak question, because "In Slovakia, the distortion of the Novotný system had been expressed by the subjugation of national aspirations - political, economic and cultural." (p. 28)

In 1968, the year of liberalization brought also by the opposition of Slovak intellectuals, Slovaks claimed more than federalization in Dean's view. There were clear voices of leading intellectuals for confederation and the Slovak Republic of 1939-45 was not only put into a more objective light, but its existence was to remind Prague that there was another solution of the Slovak question. Dean quotes from Kultúrny život:

"... it will nevertheless remain true that the Slovak Republic ex-

Slovaks, the only one in our history . . . Let us not turn away from it; it is part of our national traditions. It is important for an accurate scrutiny of our national idea to know that the idea or the remembrance of the Slovak state's independence is alive in the national memory. It connot be ignored forever in examining the alternatives in the solution of the perspectives of a small nation . . ." (Pavol Števček, "Several Theses on the Situation of the Slovak Nation," Kultúrny život, No. 3, August 2, 1968).

Husák is portrayed by Dean as one of the most articulate promoters of federalization but he did not fail to notice that Husák used the movement for federalization to come to power and abandoned it in order to remain in power. As a result, the Slovak question remained unsolved. The present situation is "centralism in a new guise" (see pages 28-37) and the persecution of intellectuals by Husák's regime is but a confirmation of his fear that they could expose the true aspirations of the Slovak people.

Die Slowakische Volkskultur (Slovak Folk Arts and Culture). Edited by Emilia Horváthová and Viera Urbancová. Published by Slovak Academy of Sciences, (Bratislava, 1972), 304 pages, 342 illustrations.

Slovak folk arts and folk culture have long attracted the attention of foreign visitors and ethnographers by their beauty, richness of colors and inexhaustible fantasy. Some observers regard Slovaks "artists by birth," whose songs and national costumes have a natural expression of a poetry full of sensibility and freshness and whose carvings, toolmakings, paintings isted as the national state of the and architecture of peasant houses excell by a constructive sense of color and design. Exposed for centuries to foreign domination and assimilation, Slovaks cultivated folk arts, songs and costumes as an expression of national consciousness and national identity and preserved a great part of them to this day.

The book Die Slowakische Volkskultur deals with and reflects the rich cultural heritage of the Slovak people. It contains eleven contributions by eight authors, of whom 5 are women. All contributors belong to the younger generation educated at post-war universities in Slovakia, but they also refer to essays and studies by scholars of earlier periods. The title of the book is actually the same as was the title of the first book in German on Slovak folk art and culture by R. Bednárik, published during the Slovak Republic (Bratislava, 1943). The present book is larger in scope and relies on new research and scholarly methods. The growth of universities in Slovakia is reflected in many fields of academic endeavor previously neglected. Ethnography was one of these fields even though the first known ethnographer among Slavs, P. J. Šafárik, was from Slovakia. In spite of regimentation and political pressures, the present Slovak universities produced experts in many disciplines, including ethnography. The book Die Slowakische Volkskultur is a product of this new cultural atmosphere in Slovakia.

Divided into eleven chapters, the volume deals with practically all aspects of the life of Slovakia's population - from agriculture and cattle breeding to family life, housebuilding, folk arts, superstiters are illustrated by photographs, many of them well chosen and enhancing the value of the book.

It should be stressed, however, that foreign readers should not visualize present day Slovakia as depicted in this book. Folk arts and folk culture belong to the past in Slovakia as in any other European country and are but a part of Slovak cultural heritage. Slovakia kept pace with European cultural development and is adorned by hundreds of medieval fortresses, castles and churches of Renaissance and Baroque art. The beautiful valleys and hills lost their original beauty to industrialization and technological progress did not bypass Slovaks and Slovakia.

J. Staško, Slovaks in the United States of America, Edition Dobrá Kniha. (Galt. Ontario, 1974) 79 pages, bibl. and statistics.

This concise study contains valuable basic information on a number of topics pertaining to the history of the Slovaks in the United States. There are several monographs by F. Hrušovský, J. Paučo and others and two volumes history of American Slovaks by K. Čulen in the Slovak language but Staško's work is the first scholarly outline in English and as such should be welcome.

The author divided his study into 14 short chapters covering the historical background of the Slovak nation, causes and effects of the migration of Slovaks, statistical survey of Slovaks in the United States and their hard beginnings and life in America. Briefly but with solid knowledge of the subjects and appropriate statistics Dr. Staško analyses the social conditions, religions and civic organizations, education, contributions to tions and customs. Individual chap- American political and economic process.

The booklet is an intelligent look at the basic questions which a historian has to deal with in writing a history of an ethnic group in today's United States. It is, however, rather an outline for a longer book, than a comprehensive story of some 3 million Americans of Slovak origin. No doubt, scholars and students of American history will welcome Dr. Staško's study as a valuable source of information, while American Slovak historians should be encouraged to use it as a solid foundation and a well balanced structure for a comprehensive history of Slovaks in the United States. The large number of monographs on Slovak-American fraternal organizations, parishes, religious orders, regional histories and preserved newspapers and publications will make it possible, even in the absence of regular archives, to prepare for the second centennial of America a history book which will tell other Americans and Slovaks as well the fascinating saga of struggles, trials and final success of American Slovaks.

The value of Staško's work for American historians also lies in his brief survey of Slovak history and in his suggested approach to studying and understanding Slovak history. As often mentioned, neighbors of Slovakia who wanted to dominate and rule Slovaks, succeeded in misleading many historians to accept a false concept of the history of the Slovak people. Even if recent history books seem to be more free of anti-Slovak bias and conceptional errors, there will be for a long time urgent need for serious literature in English and other world languages on Slovakia and Slovaks.

development and the assimilation Eckbert K. Jahn, Die Deutschen in der Slowakei 1918-1929, (Germans in Slovakia 1918-1929), Collegium Carolinum (Munich, 1971), 186 pages, bibl.

> Jahn's book on German minority in Slovakia is a valuable contribution to the history of Slovakia and it is only to be regretted that he limited his research to such a short period. Neglected before the War and written with ideological prejudice by communist historians since 1948, the history of national minorities in Slovakia is very little known. Yet, the role of minorities in Slovakia's history was of great political, cultural and economic importance.

> German settlements in Slovakia go back to the 14th century at which time, according to the author, there were over 200,000 Germans on Slovak territory. In 1918-1929 the German minority counted some 150,000 people. Before the first World War Germans of Slovakia were closer to Magyars than to Slovaks in their political and cultural leanings, but during the centuries which proceed the era of nationalism they helped to develop Slovak cities, mining industries, trades and commerce to the benefit of Slovakia. On the other hand, they were at the origin of the religious division of Slovaks.

> After the First World War Germans in Slovakia did not take part in Slovak struggle for autonomy and equal status with the Czechs. Affiliated with the socialist and partly with the communist parties, they fought in Prague for minority rights together with other Germans of Czecho-Slovakia.

> Jahn's study sheds light on many aspects of the life of the German minority in Slovakia and even though the author was not allowed

by the communist regime to study the archives, except for statistics concerning the elections, he wrote an interesting book, well researched and remarkably free of bias. It is predominantly a political history with special emphasis on the interplay of nationalism and patriotism. The book is divided into six chapters and contains interesting statistics about political and linguistic polarization not only among Germans but also among Jews in Slovakia who claimed German Hungarian as their mothertongue.

The fate of German minority in Slovakia was tragic. First they were indiscriminately murdered by Soviet and Slovak communist partisans and then expelled from Slovakia within the scheme of Dr. Beneš' policy of revenge which the Slovaks were unable to change.

An extensive bibliography of works in German, Slovak and English enhanced the value of the book.

Victor Mamatey and R. Luža, (ed.) A History of the Czechoslovak Republic 1918-1948, Princeton University Press (Princeton, N. J. 1973).

More than a score of writers contributed to this volume and while some of them are known as historians with established reputation (Mamatey, Táborský, Hoensch, Rhode, Wandycz, etc), others are less known or do not belong to the academic community at all (A. Josko). As a result, the value of individual contributions varies and the points of view differ, except for the general tendency which favors Czechs and views the Slovak question through Czech eyes. In the contributions by Professor Mamatey and J. K. Hoensch, which belong to the best in the volume, avoided. Both are thoroughly acquainted with the subject and they even corrected some malicious accusations of Slovaks (e.g. cooperation with Germans before 1938) spread in the West by Czechs and their Slovak fellow-travelers (J. Lettrich). Nevertheless, we can also say about this volume what the Canadian historian Z. Pech wrote about Western specialists in Eastern European History: "The history of Slovaks in the West has usually been presented from the point of view of 'Czechoslovakism' and has appeared as hardly more than a postscript to Czech history." (Canadian Slavonic Papers, X, 4, 1968).

The most conspicuous example of bias in this volume is the contribution by Anna Josko, whose article -in style and concept-is of such value that it would not be accepted by any serious journal. In R. Luža's selected bibliography the prejudice against Slovaks who do not advocate Czech domination over Slovakia, attained the point of the ridiculous. And more or less the same can be said about the selection of sources and references quoted. With one or two exceptions, the majority of contributors quoted or referred exclusively to sources which favor the Czechoslovak concept and are hostile to Slovak aspirations for national independence.

If we disregard the bias of many contributions, the book can be regarded as a vast source of information. Especially the two chapters by Prof. Mamatey (The Establishment of the Republic and The Development of Czechoslovak Democracy) and Hoensch's survey of the Slovak Republic present well documented accounts of the periods treated by the authors. Táborský's this bias was to a great degree contribution on "Politics in Exile" has all the attributes of academic writing but he displays the usual Czech unfounded conceit when writing about Slovaks. As the thorough research of British archives by Prof. F. Vnuk indicates, it is hardly true that "Benes prevailed with ease over his few challengers among the exiled statesmen, such as the former Czecho-Slovak premier. Milan Hodža and Czecho-Slovakia's envoy to Paris, Stefan Osuský...". And it is completely untrue that Beneš "fully respected the opposite view holding the Czechs and Slovaks to be two different Slav nations" or that "the Czech-Slovak relations created no problem during the war." It is regrettable that even a historian of Táborský's reputation wrote such mystifications.

The editors expressed thanks to Czech émigré politicians who left their country after their unsuccessful collaboration with the communists "for their advice and encouragement in organizing this study," and they "have greatly profited from the valuable help of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia in Washington, D. C." This clearly indicates the background and purpose of the book. The fact that there is among the contributors from the Slovak side only Prof. Mamatey and a clerk of the Library of Congress, Anna Josko, confirms the prejudice and political bias mentioned above. And this is to be regretted especially for the reason that the book will be listed under the name of Prof. Mamatey who is a reputable historian.

#### ESSAYS ON SLOVAKIA

In recent years, Slovak history and the present political situation in Slovakia became the subject of regard for Slovakia are treated by essays and articles in academic pe- Dr. Stanislav Kirschbaum in the

riodicals, published in Europe, the United States and Canada. The essays have been written mostly by historians of the younger generation of foreign and Slovak origin, the latter predominantly educated in the West.

Notheworthy among the essays is John S. Conway's article in The Slavonic and East European Review (Volume LII, 126, January, 1974, London, England): Churches, the Slovak State and the Jews 1939-1945." The subject was treated in the past by several specialists in Eastern Europe (Durica, Lipscher, Jellinek) and further studies are to be expected. Conway's treatise seems to be the most objective by a foreign historian, and free of usual bias against Slovaks advocating the independence of Slovakia.

Prof. Mark Stolarik's essay on "Agrarian Problems in Slovakia 1848-1918," published in Histoire Sociale - Social History (Vol. VIII, 3. University of Ottawa, May, 1974), is a valuable contribution to a field which was generally neglected by Slovak historians until recently. It is an historiographic essay and will provide useful information further study.

Contemporary political developments in Slovakia have been treated by Prof. Stanislav J. Kirschbaum of York University in Toronto in two essays. Canadian Journal of Political Science (Vol. VII, 2, June, 1974) published his French essay "Le nationalisme minoritaire: le cas de la Tcheco-Slovaguie" (Nationalism of Minorities — the Case of Czecho-Slovakia) in which the Slovak question is subject to a thorough and objective analysis.

The events of 1968 with special

Bohemia-Jahrbuch (Vol. 15, Munich, 1973), an annual published by Collegium Carolinum and specialized in problems of Czecho-Slovakia. Under the title "Kontinuität und politischen Wechsels in der Tschecho-Slowakei 1968" (Continuity and Political Change in Czecho-Slovakia 1968) Prof. Kirschbaum gives Western historians a well documented view of the reform and liberalization movement which was generally ascribed to Czechs in Western historiography even though Slovaks were its spearhead.

Eran Laor: Vergangen und ausgeloscht (Erinnerungen an das slowakisch-ungarische Judentum -Reminiscences about Slovak-Magyar Jews). Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart, 1972, 280 pp. -Review by Dr. Arvéd Grébert, Geneva. — A translation A. P.

The author of this book until recently was director of a Jewish Travel Agency in Geneva, Switzerland. Eran Laor was born in 1900 in the Slovak town of Cifer in southwestern Slovakia. In this fascinating book, which is only the first volume of a projected trilogy, he describes town life in Cifer during the first twenty-two years of his own life there, and his student days at the Slovak cultural center in Trnava and later in Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia at the present time.

This book by Eran Laor is an invaluable record of Jewish life in Slovakia at the beginning of this century. Laor's father was a well known and highly respected doctor in the region. When he died, writes the author, the people and priests from nearby villages came to pay their last respects to a highly revered humanitarian.

illustrate the symbiosis between the Jews and Slovak people.

The history of the Skvarenina, Dušinský and Peterselka (Petrželka) families from 1700 portrays in miniature the destiny of the Jews in Slovakia: by their customs, and a revelation of their thoughts and feelings, and a list of their successes and tragedies.

Slovakia became a refuge and an island of freedom for the Jews in the 17th and 18th centuries when the author's predecessors settled in the western town of Senica in 1700. They came from nearby Moravia on the Slovak border because stringent restrictions had been placed on the Jews in all Czech-ruled lands at the time.

The author's narrative is chiefly based on family documents such as family correspondence, local registries and other official documents, and inscriptions on tombstones, as well as on oral traditions in his immediate family circle.

Laor's work is a valuable addition to the history of Slovakia. His concluding chapters, in which he describes the war years in Bratislava (first World War) and subsequently Czech domination of the country, is very interesting. He correctly terms this period as "Czech occupation," and he admits that he personally participated in demonstrations protesting against the postwar regime.

From his early youth Eran Laor was active as a writer, as a poet and philosophical reviewer. He published these in German, Magyar, Hebrew, French and English. Although originally he wrote chiefly in Magyar, he stopped writing in this language in protest to the wave of anti-semitism that swept over Hungary immediately after the first World War. Today he writes ex-Interesting incidents in the book clusively in Hebrew, German and

French but speaks Slovak fluently.

From a literary standpoint the book has great value. His style is elegant and his interpretations of events far-reaching. Laor's commentaries give the reader an impression of his wide and rich experiences and wisdom. Above all, he manifests warm effection for his people and love for the country where he was born and spent the most wonderful years of his life: his childhood and youth.

A grand seigneur, in the full sense of the word, a person who actually existed in the flesh, an ideal person, is depicted by the author in his book, and he has preserved this image of a sterling personality for our materialistic-minded world. Character was still admired in the common homeland of the Jews and Slovaks in his time.

Many full page photographs enrich the book. There are pictures of the tombstones of his ancestors: the škvareninas, Dušinskýs in Nádaš, his parents in Cífer, and the picture of the Pálfy castle in Pudmerice, photos of Trnava and Bratislava.

As we have stated above, this is the first volume of his memoirs. Future volumes promise to be equally interesting, for the author went to live in Constantinople (Istanbul) where he was manager of a family commercial firm. He continued to write poetry, translated poetic works from Turkish and Greek writers, and became intensely involved in the Zionistic movement.

During the second World War he worked indefatigably in various high positions to save his fellow Jews in Europe. After the establishment of the independent state of Israel he became one of the chief founders of the Jewish navy. As director of the Jewish Agency he has rendered invaluable service to his people.

One of the most serious problems faced by the fledgling Jewish state of Israel in the beginning was the small number of Jewish inhabitants. Under Laor's dynamic leadership this was soon remedied through the work of the Jewish Agency in Geneva, Switzerland. In a few short years fully one and a half million Jews were transported from Europe to Israel. This influx of Jewish immigrants from the Continent at a critical stage strengthened the economy of the new state and furnished man-power for Israel, all of which enabled Israel to defend itself successfully against the attacks of the neighboring Arabic countries in the ensuing years.

Eran Laor's contributions for the establishment and preservation of the state of Israel have been important and vital from the very beginning of its history in our times.

Woodlands Above — Mines Below, by Rev. Andrew V. Pier, O.S.B Published by the First Catholic Slovak Union, Cleveland, Ohio. Printed by the Jednota Press, Middletown, Pa. 120 pp., with pictorial supplement, 1974. Price: \$2.00 soft cover and \$3.00 hard cover.

The latest English publication of the First Catholic Slovak Union, printed by its Jednota Press in Middletown, Pa., "Woodlands Above—Mines Below," is virtually a translation by the author, Father Andrew V. Pier, O.S.B., M.A., of his original Slovak edition "Nad nami hory—pod nami bane," which came off the press under his ancient family name, "Pír". The Slovak book was published by the Slovak Institute in Rome, Italy in

1972. The English version is revised somewhat and at least eight new episodes have been added.

Father Pier is a Slovak Benedictine Monk of St. Andrew's Abbey in Cleveland, Ohio, so it was proper that his superior, the Rt. Rev. Abbot Jerome Koval, O.S.B., wrote the Foreword to his new book. Abbot Koval introduces the mountain village of Blandburg, Pennsylvania, to the readers of this unique volume on life there more than a half century ago. His personal impressions of the locale of the series of boyhood experiences of the author prepare the reader for many pleasant surprises in the book.

The book has been selling very well to date. Aside from hundreds of single orders, there have been orders for six, a dozen, fifty, and even for a 100 copies. The early sales indicate that the book will be going to its second printing.

The reactions of the readers so far range from such exclamations as 'unbelievable,' 'colorful,' 'a bittersweet work of nostalgia,' 'true to life,' 'the good old days,' 'sweet memories,' 'told simply and beautifully,' to immediate criticism as 'a modern utopia,' 'a town that never existed' and 'a too, too sweet picture of a town this side of heaven.'

At the very outset, however, the author gives his word of honor that all the episodes recounted occured in actual life. At any rate, each reader can judge for himself what rings true or what is imaginative in the book of memories of happenings in a small town in the heart of the Alleghenies in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Christmas scenes are given the spotlight with no less than three incidents in the very beginningincidents that tug at the heartstrings and set the stage for a happy childhood as seen through the eyes Good Earth" provide the back-

of a bright-eyed, care-free, though pensive boy who never ceased to gaze at the parade of life around him with wonder and joy of being

School, not the in-thing for most schoolboys, proved to be a pleasant interlude in early life for a boy to learn and anxious to please his parents and teachers-but he was by no means a teacher's pet.

A well-merited tribute is given to the zealous priests who paid particular attention to the spiritual needs of their immigrant parishioners. Teachers, physicians, and even the businessmen rate a note of genuine appreciation, while a much admired high school principal gets a special chapter dedicated to his immortal memory.

Probably the most popular story in the entire book is that of a recalcitrant bovine creature. Wild life-rabbits, grouse, deer, snakes and bears-is discussed from various angles, as are guns that are both a menace to nature's woodland creatures or a means of maintaining a balance in our ecologydepending on one's point of view.

Lightening from the sky, the \$20 cigar and a fire are true-to-life accounts of the author in the unusual procession of experiences that are narrated in simple inimitable style.

Reference to the work in the brickyard and toil in the mines give a prosaic but realistic touch to an otherwise nostalgic, and in many respects, a utopian picture of the writer's hometown. Moreover, the account of the sudden mysterious appearance of the Ku Klux Klan appears like an ominous black cloud obliterating the rainbow in the sky above Blandburg, but it disappears as quickly as it appeared on the horizon.

Meditative reflections on "The

ground to the types of people who lived in the village: 1) Oldtimers, 2) Immigrants, 3) The Justice of Peace, and 4) Boarders.

All in all, the book presents an authentic portrayal of a phase of life that was and probably will never again be repeated. Doubtless, the book has not exhausted the memory bank, either of the writer or of the people who experienced a similar way of life. That's the key to the popularity of this book—people can say, "Why I too remember an incident...." In fact, Father Pier is writing the episodes for them in this book.

So this collection of vignettes will stimulate others to recall and record their experiences so that our generation, and future generations, will not only find pleasure in reading about them, but derive inspiration in the great adventure of life under God.

There is a pictorial supplement at the end of the book which seems like an afterthought, but it serves to strengthen the authenticity of the work that will hopefully open the door to a whole series of narrations of life in America at the early part of the 20th century.

Joseph C. Krajsa

Jednota Annual FURDEK. Edited by Joseph C. Krajsa. Published by the First Catholic Slovak Unnion, Cleveland, Ohio. Printed by Jednota Press, Middletown, Pa. Vol. XIV, 175 pages. Price: \$3.00.

This year's edition of the annual Furdek, publication of the Jednota, features a number of new writers who join such regular standbys as Msgr. Jan Rekem, S.T.P., and Dr. Joseph Kirschbaum, LL.D., Ph.D., of Canada, and Rev. Andrew Pier, O.S.B., and Daniel Tanzone of this country.

Edward Kovac's "Castles and Chateaux in Slovakia" with striking photographs of Bojnice, Orava, Lupca, Nedeca, Trencin, Strecno, Devin and Bratislava castles gives the reader a graphic picture of the beauty and grandeur of only a few of the medieval strongholds in Slovakia, for altogether there are approximately two hundred castles and more than a thousand mansions scattered throughout the historic homeland of our Slovak forefathers.

Father Stevko's pictorial montage of his variegated work as missioner, doctor and teacher in the Indonesian missions on the island of West Flores is a reminder of the fact that many Slovak priests, nuns, and Brothers are in the missions in Asia (Indonesia, the Philippines, Japan, South Korea, Burma, India), Africa and South America, as well as in New Guinea and a number of islands in the South Pacific, and Australia.

"The Apostolate of Msgr. Eugen Filkorn" is a tribute to a dedicated and holy Slovak educator at the University of Bratislava by a former student at the Svoradov Catholic fraternity house at the Slovak university.

Daniel Tanzone's review of the life of Father Kubasek on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Slovak leader's death in Yonkers, N.Y. is a timely rememberance of a remarkable personality.

The panel with photographs of Slovak college students who won Jednota scholarships in 1974 (36 handsome boys and 25 attractive girls) is proof positive of the vital interest of the Jednota organization in higher education and of the high quality of intelligence in our talented youth. May our hopes in their future contributions to our

Slovak cause, our Jednota society and to American life be justified in the years ahead.

By far the most colorful of the contents of the volume is the series of photos of the Sarisan Slovak folk-dancers of Detroit-Windsor and Pittsburgh's Slovakians directed by the dedicated Roman Niznik.

"At the Lake" by Helen Majorossy, a new contributor (a talented linguist in Cleveland), is a pensive nature study.

Sister M. Mercedes Voytko, SS. C.M., of Danville, Pa., analyzes the much debated controversy of the hyphen in "Czecho-Slovakia" and goes on to give an objective historical survey of the years from 1939 (the year of Slovak Independence and the formation of the Slovak Republic) to 1968 when the Soviet armies invaded the country and sealed its fate (for the time being at least) by leaving a permanent army of occupation.

Slovak recruits for the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart are listed by name and contributing Slovak parishes: St. Michael's. Lansford, Pa., St. John's, Allentown, Pa., SS. Cyril and Methodius, Bethlehem, Pa., SS. Cyril and Methodius, Coaldale, Pa., St. Andrew's, Catasauqua, Pa., St. Mary's, Northampton, Pa., St. Mary's, McAdoo, Pa., Sacred Heart, Palmerton, Pa., SS. Cyril and Methodius, Reading, Pa., Our Mother of Sorrows, Bridgeport, Pa. Sister M. Bridget Ulicny, M.SE.C., a Slovak nun, has been general superior of the 1700 Sisters of the Sacred Heart the past three years with headquarters in Rome, Italy.

A somber and profound note is added to the Furdek annual by Msgr. Ján Rekem, S.T.D., by his "Philosophy of History of the Slovak nation."

Dr. Kirschbaum's highly documented commentary "Slovak Language under Communism" gives the reader insight into how the historic language of the Slovak nation has been strongly subjected to pressures by the postwar communist regime in the past three decades.

Undoubtedly, the ground-breaking ceremonies that are depicted at the beginning of the annual show that our Jednota is forging ahead and keeping pace with the pressing needs of a new era. The highly important event that marked the start of a building development program and expansion of the Jednota Press headquarters is truly historic. It is another great milestone in the progress of our fraternal society that is meeting the challenge of our times with renewed hope and vigor.

Joyce Iezzi's "Slovak Traditions" and the accompanying picture of the mixed Church choir of St. Florian's parish in United, Pa., provide incontrovertible evidence that our ancient and time-honored liturgy is very much alive despite recent radical changes in Church worship in many quarters.

Paul Berish's "Chit-Chats with a Giant" is so genuine and heartwarming that the article merits a niche in the literary hall of fame, and the incidental meeting with Karol Sidor reflects the lasting impression the great Slovak political leader and diplomat at the Vatican made upon a total stranger who was a true son of St. Francis.

Our Lady of Levocha Shrine in Bedford, Ohio, rates a well deserved historical background furnished originally by Sister M. Augustine, V.S.C., from Slovak sources for her collaborator, Sr. M. Regis, V.S.C.,

the author of "The History of Our Lady of Levoca." Levoca (Levocha) is known to thousands of American Slovaks from the eastern Spis region where they were accustomed to go on pilgrimage each year to the famous Marian shrine in Slovakia.

Editor's Note: On October 5, 1975, the Slovak nuns at the Marian shrine of Our Lady of Levocha in Bedford, Ohio, will commemorate the 45th anniversary of the Blessing of the statue (carved from the wood of an apple tree in Slovakia, touched by the miraculous statue of Mt. Levoca and sent to the U.S. in the summer of 1930) by Archbishop Joseph Schrembs, D.D.

Nellie Kovalik, R.N., strikes an ecumenical note in her article, "New St. Gabriel's Candle" while Father Schmieder recalls the delightful activity of a lovable prelate "The Good Monsignor."

Rev. Andrew V. Pier, O.S.B.

Krása slovenských pamiatkových kostolov (The Beauty of Slovak Churches). Published by the St. Adalbert Society, Trnava, Slovakia. St. Adalbert Society Press, 1970.

Slovakia can boast of many rare monuments of historical and artistic value, besides its wealth of natural beauty. One of the most important places among these monuments is taken by the old Roman Catholic churches which are unique from a historic, architectural and artistic point of view. These Slovak churches, whether they be cathedrals, or local parish churches are gems of sacred art from the gothic and baroque periods and are adthroughout international spheres of culture. Besides reflecting the art heritage of Slovakia

during specific periods, these churches remain a valuable source of art history.

The review was published by the St. Adalbert Society (Spolok svätého Vojtecha) in Trnava to commemorate the centenary of its founding in 1870. The front cover depicts the majestic gothic sanctuary of St. Nicholas Cathedral in Trnava, enclosed by a septagonal apse and four sections of artistically worked reticulated vaulting. It was in this cathedral, which dates from the 14th century, that the founding meeting of the St. Adalbert Society took place on September 14, 1870.

The following Slovak churches or shrines are depicted in this commemorative work:

- 1. The Holy Rood altar with the neo-gothic pulpit of the Cathedral of St. Martin in Bratislava.
- 2. The baroque altar in the sanctuary of the Good Church in the Nitra Cathedral which dates from the year 1732 together with frescoes by G. A. Galliardi dating from 1720.
- 3. The gothic sanctuary and renaissance baroque main altar of the Rožňava cathedral dating from 1672.
- 4. The renaissance baroque main altar of St. Adalbert, dating from the 17th century in the Sariš pilgrim shrine of Gaboltov.
- 5. The baroque main altar with the statue of the Sorrowful Mother, patroness of Slovakia in the basilica of Šaštín.
- 6. The 15th century sanctuary and main altar of the pilgrim church at Staré Hory.
- 7. The gothic main altar, the work of Master Pavol of Levoča, together with frescoes dating from the 14th century in the parish church of St. James in Levoča.
  - 8. The interior of the Marianka

church today ornamented in baroque style.

9. The main altar of the Košice Cathedral of Saint Elizabeth, the largest gothic altar in the world.

- 10. The reconstructed baroque Cathedral of the Assumption in Banská Bystrica displaying main altar painting by J. L. Kracker dating from 1774.
- 11. The baroque Lady chapel, the work of G. R. Donner from the first

pilgrim church, originally a gothic half of the 18th century in the Cathedral of St. Nicholas in Trnava.

> 12. The 15th century altar of St. Michael the Archangel together with the main altar dating from the 19th century in the Church of St. Martin in Spišské Podhradie.

> The collection offers the student of Slovak ecclesiastical art a wide range of Slovak church art and architecture as found in Slovakia.

> > Daniel F. Tanzone

# Slovak American Bicentennial Commission

Through the initiative of the Slovak League of America and with the cooperative effort of the great majority of Slovak organizations, publications and other entities, a Slovak American Bicentennial Commission was formulated in 1974.

The purpose of the Commission is to provide national celebrations commemorating the 200th Birthday of the United States of America in 1976. The first event will be held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in March, and the second week-long celebration will be held in Detroit, Michigan in June. It is expected that many tens of thousands of Slovak Americans will attend the festivities in Detroit.

The Commission will also publish a commemorative book Slovaks in America—A Bicentennial Study, which will encompass a brief history of the Slovak Americans.

The officers of the Slovak American Bicentennial Commission are: President, Frances Mizenko, National Secretary of the First Catholic Slovak Ladies Association; Vice President, Dr. Joseph Paučo, National Secretary of the Slovak League of America; and Secretary, Joseph Kristofik, Detroit, Michigan.

The Chairman of the Editorial Board for the publication of the book Slovaks in America—A Bicentennial Study is Joseph C. Krajsa, Editor of Jednota

# Who's Who Among Slovak Americans

## MICHAEL NOVAK

Michael Novak has written two novels and several influential books, including The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics (1972), Choosing Our King (1974), The Experience of Nothingness (1970), A New Generation (1964), and Ascent of the Mountain, Flight of the Dove (1971). His books and articles have been published in nine languages.

In two of his three years on the faculty at Stanford, 1967 and 1968, the Senior Class elected him "most influential professor."

He was a judge for the National Bank Awards in 1972 and has been a juror for the DuPont Awards in Broadcast Journalism since 1971. He leads a seminar in television criticism for the Aspen Institute, and also chairs a private study group on the future of the city of Jerusalem. In 1970, he was a senior staff advisor for Sargent Shriver in congressional campaigns across the nation, and in 1972 he served with McGovern and then with Shriver.

humanities at the Rockefel- is bi-partisan.

ler Foundation during 1973 and 1974, he created a new program for the humanities. raising the Foundation's spending for the humanities from \$400,000 to \$4 million per year. He established a widely acclaimed Fellowship program, and instigated programs for working people and high school students under the title of "The Public Humanities."

He has been a consultant to AT&T, IBM (for an interview in Think magazine), and has participated in many corporate seminars, including the annual seminar of Northern States Power Company in Minnesota.

He is Executive Director of EMPAC (Ethnic Millions Political Action Committee). a consulting firm and membership organization, with a nationally recognized board and groups of active advisors in virtually every urban center. EMPAC supports aspirations for equality and justice on the part of the one in four Americans of white ethnic back ground, particularly from Southern and Eastern As associate director for European cultures. The firm

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# Our Contributors

Dr. Arvéd Grébert, former Slovak diplomat, now in Switzerland Sonya Jason, Slovak American author, Woodland Hills, Calif. Joseph Paučo, Ph.D., author, historian, Middletown, Pa. Theodoric J. Zúbek, O.F.M., author, Joliet, III.

Konštantin Čulen, author, historian (deceased)

Anthony X. Sutherland, Ph.D., Columbus, Ohio

Daniel F. Tanzone, teacher, Yonkers, N. Y.

Sister M. Pamela Smith, SS.C.M., teacher, Danville, Pa.

Andrew V. Pier, O.S.B., author, Cleveland, Ohio

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